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in its Greco-Roman Social Context

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MANUMISSION IN ROMAN CORINTH:
A STUDY OF 1 COR. 7:21 IN ITS GRECO-ROMAN SOCIAL CONTEXT

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES
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TSUTOMU MIZUTANI

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ABSTRACT

Μᾶλλον χρῆσαι in 1 Cor. 7:21 is considered to be one of the more difficult texts to interpret in the New Testament. The text has a long history of exegetical debate on Paul's view on the manumission of slaves, in which the text is mainly understood as either 'use the present condition of slavery' or 'use the condition obtained by becoming a freedperson'. The main trend of recent studies has been to maintain the so-called 'take freedom' interpretation; however, there is still a need for a clearer understanding of the social meaning of becoming a freedperson within the context of first-century CE Corinth. This study discusses the crux of 1 Cor. 7:21 in the light of the social setting of Roman Corinth, with a particular focus on the nature of manumission and its influence in the context of Roman control over the Greek province. It is known that, after manumission, ex-slaves entered into the relationship of *patronatus* with their former owner, and ultimately with the emperor. This study argues that manumission in the province was an important means of imperial rule which gained cultic character. The study also discusses the issue of food offered to idols (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1), an issue that shares the same cultic context. The situation of the Christ-followers in Corinth was that their attachment to the imperial cult would put some of them at risk of falling back into idol worship; hence, Christ-followers were to relinquish their right to consume food offered to idols. In the light of this background, in which the imperial cult had a marked influence, it is considered that Paul also counselled Christ-followers not to obtain manumission even if they were legally eligible. Finally, the study explains this reading of 1 Cor. 7:21 in relation to the immediate context of the passage.

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In memory of my father
Hiroshi Mizutani 1941-2014

¹ Particularly by the trip to Rome in 2012.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Papyri and Inscriptions

<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Ed. A. Boeckh. Berlin, 1828-1877.
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> . Ed. J.B. Frey. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1936-52.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1863-.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873-.
<i>P. Mich.</i>	<i>Michigan papyri</i> (1931-)
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (1898-)
PG	Patrologia Graeca [= Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca]. Ed. J.P. Migne. Paris, 1857-1886.
PL	Patrologia Latina [= Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina]. Ed. J.P. Migne. Paris, 1844-1864.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Edited by W. Dittenberger. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915-1924.

2. Greco-Roman Literature and Roman Law²

Aeschin.	Aeschines
App.	Appian
<i>BC</i>	<i>Bella Civilia (Civil Wars)</i>
<i>Pun.</i>	<i>Punic Wars</i>
Apul.	Apuleius
Cic.	Cicero, M. Tullius
<i>Acad. Pr.</i>	<i>Academica</i>
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Catil.</i>	<i>in Catilinam (Against Catiline)</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>De domo sua (On his House)</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Familiares</i>
<i>Font.</i>	<i>Pro Fonteio</i>
<i>Har.</i>	<i>De Haruspicum Responsis (On the Responses of the Haruspices)</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>de Officiis</i>
<i>Pis.</i>	<i>In Pisonem</i>
<i>QF</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem</i>
<i>Sest.</i>	<i>Pro Sestio</i>

² Unless otherwise indicated, translations of Greek and Latin texts are from the Loeb Classical Library series.

D.C.	Dio Cassius, <i>Historicus (Roman History)</i>
D.H.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus <i>Antiquitates Romanae (Roman Antiquities)</i>
Epict.	Epictetus
<i>Ench.</i>	<i>Enchiridion</i>
E.	Euripides
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>
Gai. Inst.	<i>Institutiones Gai (Institutes of Gaius)</i>
Galen.	Galenus
<i>AA</i>	<i>De anatomicis administrationibus</i>
Gell.	Aulus Gellius, <i>Noctes Atticae (Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius)</i>
Hdt.	Herodotus
Herod.	Herodas
Hor.	Horace
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satires</i>
J.	Josephus
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae (Jewish Antiquities)</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bellum Judaicum (The Jewish War).</i>
<i>C. Ap.</i>	<i>Contra Apionem (Against Apion)</i>
Juv.	Juvenalis, D. Junius
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satires</i>
Livy	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita ('History of Rome')</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Periochae</i>
Luc.	Lucian
<i>Nigr.</i>	<i>Nigrinus</i>
Mart.	Martialis, <i>Epigrammata</i>
Nic. Dam.	Nicolaos of Damascus
Ov.	Ovid
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Paul.	Julius Paulus Prudentissimus
<i>D.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece.</i>
Petr.	Petronius, <i>Satyricon</i>
Philo	
<i>Jos.</i>	<i>De Josepho</i>
<i>Legat.</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium (On the Embassy to Gaius)</i>
<i>Spec. leg.</i>	<i>De Specialibus Legibus</i>
Pin.	Pindarus
<i>O.</i>	<i>Olympian</i>
Plaut.	Plautus

<i>Aul.</i>	<i>Aulularia 557-59</i>
<i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curculio</i>
<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epidicus</i>
<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menaechmi</i>
<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>
Plin. Nat.	Pliny the Elder, <i>Historia Naturalis (Natural History)</i>
Plin. Ep.	Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistulae</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antonius</i>
Caes.	<i>Caesar</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>De virtute morali</i>
<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Pompey</i>
<i>Quaes. Conv.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Convivales (Convivial Questions)</i>
Plb.	Polybius
Sall.	Sallustius,
<i>Catiline</i>	<i>The Conspiracy of Catiline</i>
Sen.	Seneca
<i>Ben.</i>	<i>De Beneficiis</i>
<i>Brev. Vit.</i>	<i>De Brevitate Vitae</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Tranq.</i>	<i>De Tranquillitate Animi</i>
Strab.	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>
<i>Cl.</i>	<i>Divus Claudius</i>
<i>Gramm.</i>	<i>De grammaticism</i>
<i>Jul.</i>	<i>Divus Julius</i>
Tac.	Tacitus
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
Ter.	Terence
<i>Ad.</i>	<i>Adelphi (The Brothers)</i>
Ulp.	Ulpian
<i>D.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
<i>Fr.</i>	<i>Domitii Ulpiani fragmenta (Fragments of the Rules of Domitius Ulpianus)</i>
<i>Sab.</i>	<i>Ad Sabinum</i>
X.	Xenophon
<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Institutio Cyri (Cyropaedia)</i>

2. Reference Works, Journals, Publishers

<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972–.
ASV	American Standard Version
AV	Authorized Version
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Revised and edited by Frederick W. Danker. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament

NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTSup	New Testament Studies Supplements
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<i>SBT</i>	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SP	Sacra Pagina
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976.
TEV	Today's English Version
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

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INTRODUCTION

The question of 1 Corinthians 7:21 is considered to be one of the more difficult problems in New Testament studies. The problem is recognizable from a comparison of the major English translations, which are divided into two camps.¹ In the context of chapter 7, Paul's counsel is to remain in one's condition when called (i.e. when becoming a Christ-follower). However, there is ambiguity in the meaning of 7:21d; Paul's view on obtaining manumission can be understood as either 'use the present condition [of slavery]' or 'use the condition obtained [by becoming a freedperson]'. The reason why there are two opposing interpretations is that Paul omits the object of the verb *χράομαι* (to use); thus, one is required to fill in the ellipsis according to the context and the syntax of the text. The main trend is for scholars who maintain the so-called 'remain in slavery' interpretation to stress the context of the passage, while those who maintain the so-called 'take freedom' interpretation explain it on the basis of grammar (the details of which will be discussed in Chapter 5). Interpreters from the time of the church fathers to the present have generally followed one or the other of these interpretations of the passage. For example, John Chrysostom, acknowledging that there is a debate between the two views on the passage in question, corrects the understanding of the 'take freedom' interpretation by stating that Paul could not have given such a command. Although the authoritative tone of the arguments of the church was maintained through the following generations, the Reformers of the sixteenth century such as John Calvin and Martin Luther opted for the 'take freedom' interpretation. During the rise of the movement for the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century, the text 7:21d (*μᾶλλον χρῆσαι*) became the proof text for abolitionists as well as social conservatives, and biblical scholars were heavily involved in the polemical debate between the two sides. The history of interpretation shows that interpreters were not unaffected by the strong social influence of the time. In 1973, S. Scott Bartchy proposed a new interpretation, which translated the verb *χράομαι* as 'to live according to', and which was based on the use of the word in the work of Josephus; for the object of the verb, he

¹ The major English translations which read the passage as 'remain in slavery' are, e.g., NRSV, NJB; the translations which opt for the reading 'take freedom' are, e.g., AV/KJV, RV, RSV, TEV, NIV.

opted for ‘one’s calling’ from what he perceived as the wider context.² Commentators later referred to this as the ‘third interpretation’.³ The significance of his study, however, is that it is credited as the first extensive analysis to explore the problem by taking into account the social context of Greco-Roman slavery in the first century CE.⁴ His study on slavery was primarily based on the view of scholars of the Mainz Academy (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz) in Germany at the time, that assumed that people in the first century CE seldom questioned the institution of slavery. However, as Bartchy himself later admitted,⁵ the opinions of historians and sociologists who study ancient slavery have become more nuanced since his study was published. For example, the studies of Orlando Patterson and Keith Bradley, which brought new concepts such as ‘social death’⁶ and ‘animalization’⁷, respectively, to the discussion, changed the widely accepted view of the benign condition of slaves.

At the same time, the trend of the studies of Roman history also shifted to take a different focus. Simon Price, for example, explains that Roman historians had been interested in the Rome-centred administration which flowed out to both East and West of the Empire, but the new consensus is that the Empire was a structure that resulted from a ‘series of ongoing choices and

² S.S. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21* (SBLDS 11; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973).

³ E.g. A.C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), p. 554; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* (Anchor Bible Commentary; London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 309; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (SP; vol. 7; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 286. For other publications: e.g. Gregory Dawes, ““But if you can gain your freedom” (1 Corinthians 7:17-24)”, *CBQ* 52 (1990), pp. 681-97 (693).

⁴ E.g. John Byron, *Recent Research on Paul and Slavery* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), p. 25.

⁵ S. Scott Bartchy, ‘Response to Keith Bradley’s Scholarship on Slavery’, *BibInt* 21 (2013), pp. 524-32 (527).

⁶ This concept was proposed as an alternative to the idea of ‘slave as object’. The meaning is that he or she has been spared and kept as a slave (otherwise, the person would have died). Although being alive, the person was *dead* as a social being. Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). Cf. H. Mouritsen, *The Freedman in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 13-4.

⁷ E.g. Keith Bradley, ‘Animalizing the Slave: The Truth of Fiction’, *JRS* 90 (2000), pp. 110-25.

negotiations between the subject and ruler'.⁸ In the study of ancient Corinth, the excavations that have been carried out by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens are crucial in this light. The thorough exploration of the archaeological sites by scholars such as Elizabeth R. Gebhard and Mary E. Hoskins Walbank shed light on the imperial rule in Corinth, especially in terms of how Romans utilized Greek cultural elements. It is known that the local situation of Corinth was distinctive in that the city was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BCE, but the ways in which the Romans refounded the city have become clearer from the studies: the archaeological evidence shows that the Romans rebuilt the city with a careful plan which included the reestablishment of some selected Greek traditional cults. It is most likely that this was intended to control those of Greek cultural background (the details will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 4). It is also known that the initial immigrants sent from Rome to Corinth were freedpersons, i.e. ex-slaves, and many were considered to be 'Greeks returning home'. The fact that freedmen⁹ were permitted to become municipal officials is also an important point for through these freedpersons, Rome held a grip on the province. It is therefore essential to consider this historical background of Roman Corinth, for elucidating the social 'meaning' of becoming a freedperson in Corinth has a special significance in understanding the question of 1 Cor. 7:21.

Despite the fact that there has been significant research undertaken (although outside the field of Biblical studies) that has highlighted the social context of the first century and especially of Corinth, a few of which are mentioned above, it appears that New Testament scholars have not fully taken these studies into serious consideration. J. Albert Harrill, in his monograph published in 1995,¹⁰ critiqued the earlier study by Bartchy by stating that Bartchy did not engage with the evidence from Corinth, and Harrill considers that this was inevitable since the evidence that makes it possible to reestablish the condition of slavery in Corinth has not survived (Harrill, therefore, takes a philological

⁸ S. Price, 'Response', in *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order* (ed. R. Horsley; London: Trinity Press International, 2004), p. 176.

⁹ In this study, gender-specific terms (i.e. freedman and freedwoman, and their plural form) will be used if they are specified by the context; otherwise, 'freedperson' will be employed in order to indicate those who obtained manumission.

¹⁰ J.A. Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity* (HUT, No 32; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).

approach to the question).¹¹ Indeed, the absence of evidence of slavery in Corinth may be an obstacle; however, as far as the question of 1 Cor. 7:21 is concerned, the *primary* concern of the study is the actual situation of manumission as practised in Corinth.

It is said that, over the past twenty years, there have been few scholars who have supported the so-called ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation. While the emphases of their support of this reading may differ, the trend is that recent scholars, whether taking a philological approach or using rhetorical analysis, have tended to maintain the ‘take freedom’ interpretation.¹² However, there have been few studies that primarily focused on the broader social context of Corinth,¹³ and it appears that there is a danger in disregarding this context especially in the case of the question of 1 Cor. 7:21. That is, as a consequence of a long history of dichotomous debate between the ‘remain in slavery’ and ‘take freedom’ interpretations, one may overlook the fact that there were, in fact, three social categories in Roman society: namely, slave, freedperson, and free person. It is thus fallacious to assume that manumission brought slaves complete freedom;¹⁴ rather, what is crucial in the question of 1 Cor. 7:21 is a clearer understanding of what it meant to become a freedperson within the social context of first-century CE Corinth.

The first four chapters of this study will explore the social connotation of obtaining manumission in the context of Roman Corinth. Chapter 1 aims to paint a picture of freedpersons in Roman society. The first section is intended to describe the place of freedpersons in society by

¹¹ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 99.

¹² Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 114 ; S. Briggs, ‘Paul on Bondage and Freedom in Imperial Roman Society’, in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation* (ed. R.A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), pp. 110- 123 (111).

¹³ This has been the situation since the work of Bartchy was published in 1973 (strictly, he did not take the evidence of Corinth into consideration, as mentioned above). Although Harrill, in his publication in 1995, focused on the philological study, he offered an extensive study of slavery in the ancient world (Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 11-67). However, he does not reconstruct the situation of manumission practised in Corinth. As far as I am aware, there is one study that focuses on the social context of manumission: Michael A. Flexsenhar III, whose study entitled, ‘No Longer a Slave: Manumission in the Social World of Paul’ (MA dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2013) must be given credit for his approach of exploring the practice of manumission in Corinth by engaging with a variety of primary sources. However, his argument presupposes the ‘take freedom’ interpretation and discusses the rhetorical aspect of the text.

¹⁴ Harrill may be correct in stating that the text implies nothing about Paul’s thoughts on whether the institution of slavery must be abolished. J.A. Harrill, ‘Paul and Slavery: The problem of 1 Corinthians 7:21’, *BR* 39 (1994), pp. 5-28 (5).

focusing on three areas: first, social mobility and the careers of freedpersons; second, social order and the population of freedpersons; and third, Roman legislation on manumission. These investigations are intended to provide a clearer understanding of the social situation that led the Augustan colonial programme to send substantial numbers of freedpersons to the colonies. The second section of the chapter will focus on the relationship of freedpersons with their former owners. After obtaining manumission, slaves were not completely free; they entered into a patron-client relationship with their former masters. The study will first explore the nature of Roman formal manumission; the types of manumission as well as the obligation that freedpersons incurred. Second, it aims to articulate the distinctive nature of Roman patronage into which ex-slaves entered. As patronage itself is not specific to Roman social relationships, the difference between Roman patronage (*patronatus*) and Greek patronage will be explored. An understanding of the Greek perception of Roman patronage is expected to shed light on how those of a Greek cultural background in the colony perceived Roman rule.

In Chapter 2, the study will turn to the local situation of Corinth. In the first section, it aims to describe the cultural frame of Roman Corinth. By exploring the evidence from Corinth from the pre-colonization period to the three stages of colonization (i.e. rebuilding, stabilization, and integration), the section intends to cast light on the process of the Roman re-foundation of the colony that once used to be a flourishing Greek city. The second section discusses the place of freedpersons within these changes. It is considered that, as the colony was reestablished, freedpersons contributed to the economic growth of the city in many areas, such as manufacturing and services for non-residents. The third section will focus on the religious aspect of life in Corinth. The relationship between the local Greek cults and the imperial cult will be explored, and the ways in which the Romans intended to control the people of Greek cultural background will be sought.

Chapter 3 will focus on the activities of the members of the *Augustales* in Corinth. The members were considered to be primarily freedmen who devoted themselves to the imperial cult, and who voluntarily formed a group called the *Augustales* in Roman cities. In Achaëa, the evidence shows that they were present in Patrae and Corinth, and the reason behind their rise in Corinth as well as their spontaneous involvement in the imperial cult will be discussed. The first section is designed to

demonstrate their fundamental character by exploring the evidence from wider regions in the Empire, and to probe into the evidence in Corinth. The second section aims to discuss the loyalty of the Greeks towards the emperor. The Greek reaction to Roman rule as well as their experience of the ruler-cult will be investigated. The chapter aims to explain the distinctive nature of the members of the Augustales, and the imperial atmosphere that consequently nurtured the Augustales in Corinth.

In Chapter 4, the question of Greek manumission will be discussed. Since the Romans reestablished some of the Greek cults in Corinth, it will focus on the cult of Asclepius, which has a long tradition of sacral manumission in Greek cities. Chapter 4 aims to elucidate the ways in which the Romans utilized the cult. The first section will provide a historical overview of the cult of Asclepius in Corinth from the ancient Greek period to the date of its restoration by the Romans, and the evidence from the cult of Asclepius in Buthrotum, another Greek city which was ruled by the Romans during the same period, will also be explored for comparison. The connection between the renewals of the cult in the two cities will also be elucidated. The second section will focus on the relationship between the cult of Asclepius and the worship of the emperor. The question of whether the Romans identified Augustus and Asclepius, as some scholars argue, will be examined. The exploration is expected to demonstrate the Roman authority over the cult of Asclepius in Corinth.

After exploring the question of social context in the first four chapters, the study will turn to the interpretive question of the biblical text. In Chapter 5, the first section will outline the key problems that are involved in the interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21. The reason why the text can be understood in two opposing ways, namely, 'take freedom' or 'remain in slavery', will be articulated and the history of interpretation from the time of the church fathers to the present will be surveyed. In the second section, the social aspects that are relevant in understanding the text will be discussed. By exploring the issues of the question of Greek sacral manumission, the modes of Roman formal manumission, and the legal aspects of manumission, in relation to the text, it will discuss the importance of locating the crux of 1 Cor. 7:21 in the context of the imperial cultic rule.

In Chapter 6, the study will explore another biblical text, namely the question of 'idol food' in 1 Cor. 8:1-11:1. The issue of 'idol food' is considered to share a common background with that of manumission, since manumission in Corinth is considered to be an issue that is deeply related to the

imperial cultic context. The first section will discuss the interpretive problems of the passage (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1). The question of an apparent discrepancy between the issue of food offered to idols and idol worship will be discussed. The second section aims to discover whether the ‘manumitted people’ (i.e. freedpersons) have any influence upon the question of ‘idol food’, in which Paul expresses deep concern about those who are at risk of falling into the pagan cult. The presence of the ‘weak’ in the passage will be highlighted in relation to the nature of freedpersons; *patronatus* (Roman patronage), which bound freedpersons to the patron, and effectively to the Roman emperor, may have affected the Christ-followers in Corinth in their strong attachment to the imperial cult. The chapter is expected to shed light on the situation of Christ-followers in Corinth in terms of the problems they had in relation to the imperial cult.

Finally, Chapter 7 will summarize the discussions above, and return to the interpretation of the question of manumission. It aims to interpret 1 Cor. 7:21-24 by taking into account the social context of manumission, and the situation of the Christ-followers in Roman Corinth.

CHAPTER 1

ROMAN FREEDPERSONS

1.1 The place of freedpersons in society

It is frequently thought of freedpersons that, since Roman elites generally imposed a rigid social hierarchy upon the populace (and their social pyramid rigorously maintained), social advancement in Roman society was almost impossible and therefore freedpersons were akin to slaves. Indeed, freedpersons were often specifically called slaves by Roman elites.¹⁵ However, it is important not to dismiss the wider social contexts of freedpersons in Roman society since their place was very different to that of slaves. This section aims to focus on two interrelated points, namely, to provide a picture of the lives of freedpersons (*libertini*)¹⁶ in Roman society, and then to look into the situation that led to the Augustan colonial programme that sent substantial numbers of ex-slaves to the colonies. To illuminate these points, the following three areas will be explored. Firstly, analysis of the careers of freedpersons will be undertaken in order to examine the evidence for their upward social mobility. The perception of this issue in wider Roman society and among Roman elites will also be examined. Secondly, the study will examine social order in the Augustan period, particularly in the first century BCE, and especially in relation to freedpersons. It will attempt to estimate the population of freedpersons in order to provide an understanding of the social influence of that category and will ask whether there is any correlation between the increasing number of freedpersons and the deterioration of social order in the period, which may illuminate the purposes of the Augustan colonial programme. The third part of this section will explore the legislation on freedpersons as it will provide strong literary evidence that directly reflects upon issues related to freedpersons of the time. In studying these three aspects the chapter will elucidate various topics related to the social context(s) of Roman

¹⁵ E.g. Cic., *Fam.*, V.20.2; *Dom.*, 89, 92; *Sest.* 47; *Pis.* II. Cf. Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), Appendix 4, 'The Application of the word *servus* to a Freedman', pp. 265-266.

¹⁶ The word *libertinus* was used to express a freedperson's relation to others in Roman society and to the state. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 37, n .5.

freedpersons and provide the basis for much of what follows in the proceeding chapters.

1.1.1 Social mobility and the careers of freedpersons

Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller explain that the oppressiveness of Roman social hierarchy was partly built on the restriction of social mobility. Individual and group mobility was usually achieved through conditions such as ‘the chances of enrichment offered by the economy’ and ‘demographic trends that could leave open to newcomers more or fewer places in the higher order’.¹⁷ The Roman elite controlled such upward movement since it was a crucial administrative task for the Romans to stabilize their social hierarchy. However, despite such control, there were still some sectors of the population in which upward mobility was visible; these were, according to Garnsey and Saller, certain categories of slaves, and soldiers.¹⁸ Concerning the slaves, emancipation was common in Rome; however, whether ex-slaves succeeded in obtaining wealth or higher social status was a different and complex issue. This opening part of this analysis explores the question of the extent to which ex-slaves had opportunities for social advancement and, a key part of the question, the role that their careers played in such advancement. The study will first survey literary and non-literary evidence of this issue along with the views of modern historians of antiquity.

The *Satyricon* by Petronius (ob. 66 CE) contains ‘Cena Trimalchionis’, which depicts the life story of Trimalchio, a slave who became a freedman, then rose to become one of the nouveau riche. Although the story has been said to be a form of rhetorical exaggeration, relics from an excavated house owned by freedpersons in Pompeii included a large peristyle,¹⁹ revealing that the opportunities for a freedperson to accumulate enormous wealth may not be so far from the truth. Arnold M. Duff notes that while not all freedmen were like Trimalchio, there were those who were freed and who gained wealth by employing their qualities of culture and intellect (and, obviously, business

¹⁷ P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1990 [1987]), p. 123.

¹⁸ Garnsey and Saller, *The Roman Empire*, p. 124.

¹⁹ ‘Illustrations IX: House owned by bourgeois of Pompeii’ in A.M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1958).

acumen).²⁰ In many cases, they had generous relationships with their patrons,²¹ and opportunities to accumulate capital and skills to develop their own businesses. Their careers varied although were often linked to the profession(s) of their patron.²² Yet, even following manumission, the patron still had the right to gain economic advantage from them (*operae* was the term used for the economic obligation imposed upon ex-slaves). This economic obligation was more concrete than just informal loyalty to the patron (*obsequium*),²³ for after manumission, slaves were expected to take a formal oath regarding the number of days they would labour each year for their former owner.²⁴ Despite the fact that freedmen had such disadvantages, many of them accumulated wealth even to the extent that it fostered a feeling of suspicion and resentment among the free-born.²⁵

Many slaves already had some kind of skill before they were brought to Rome, and it is likely that this was especially the case for those from Greece. Once freed, many of them entered the sectors of artisans and commerce.²⁶ An important point is that Romans stigmatized and had prejudices against these jobs, regarding them as ‘sordid’ occupations,²⁷ which led freedpersons to monopolize these sectors. Evidence demonstrates a high percentage of freedmen among artisans; records from Rome show that 58% of the jewellers and goldsmiths were freedmen and the rest were primarily slaves,²⁸ while the extant seal stamps from Pompeii, used by artisans to stamp their names on

²⁰ A.M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928; repr. Cambridge: W Heffer & Sons, 1958), p. 127.

²¹ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 219-220.

²² Treggiari discusses types of freedpersons’ careers in each section in her book: (i) Trade and Industry, (ii) Agriculture, (iii) The Learned Professions and the Fine Arts, (iv) Private Service, and (v) Public Service. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 87-161.

²³ For *Obsequium*, see 1.2.1 for details.

²⁴ E.g. Ulp. *Sab.*, 28 (*D.* 38.1); T. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 54-55. (*Opera*: a day’s labour)

²⁵ E.g. Plin. *Nat.*, 18, 8; Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*, p. 4.

²⁶ H. Mouritsen, *The Freedman in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 206. See also Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 36, 95-6, 172.

²⁷ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 208. (*Cic.*, *Off.*, 1.150-1; for *Lex Claudia*: Livy, 21.63.3-4)

²⁸ P.A. Brunt, ‘The Roman Mob’, *Past and Present* 35 (1966), pp. 3-27 (15).

products, show that at least two thirds of the names were those of freedmen.²⁹ Although not all freedmen had a chance for social advancement, there were in fact relatively wealthy freedmen in society. Henrik Mouritsen, carefully distinguishing his view from the opinions that emphasize the emergence of a ‘middle class’ in antiquity, sees them as ‘*the commercial class*’³⁰ who were independent of the Roman elites.

It is true that in Roman society the social pyramid was sustained by law. Jo-Ann Shelton argues, ‘most people remained in the class into which they were born and seemed, moreover, resigned to the inequities of their rigidly structured society’.³¹ This point must not be dismissed since it is misleading to impose the modern view of a ‘middle class’ upon antiquity. It could naturally be conjectured that there were countless numbers of freedpersons who were at the bottom of the social pyramid and who did not leave any written record. However, at the same time, the rise of freedpersons was also observed by ancient authors from the first century BCE into the second century CE. Martial refers to what seems to be a proverbial phrase of the period, the ‘wealth of freedmen’,³² and even the arrogance of freedmen was used metaphorically in the writings of Livy and Plutarch.³³ Studies show that many freedpersons were successful in provincial places. Ramsay MacMullen explains that freedmen were prominent in provincial aristocracies, and refers to places such as the countryside of Pompeii, and areas far from Rome such as Pannonia and Africa.³⁴ Together with these phenomena, aggressive reactions from the Roman elites could not be overlooked. A debate in the senate in Tacitus’ *Annals* (13.26) demonstrates how the elite tried to re-enslave freedpersons who

²⁹ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 206; other figures of freedpersons within wider society will be treated in 1.1.2.

³⁰ Mouritsen’s italics: Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, pp. 207- 8. Wiedemann also warns against the ‘entrepreneurial class’ view of freedpersons: Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*, p. 4.

³¹ Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988), p. 7.

³² Mart., v.13.6 (Martial, 40-102 CE). See also Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 125; Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 88.

³³ Livy, 39.26.8 (Livy: 59 BCE-17 CE); Plut., *Mor.*, 66D (LCL no.). (Plutarch: 45-120 CE). See also Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 59.

³⁴ R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C.–A.D. 284* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 103, 190 n. 42.

claimed rights and equality with respect to their patrons; noting, ‘Some were indignant that “insolence, grown harder with liberty, had reached a point where freedmen were no longer content to be equal before the law with their patrons”.’ The case appears to be too specific to be part of Tacitus’ literary imagination, especially as it points to the danger of Nero’s inaction; rather, it appears to be part of Tacitus’ wider intention to emphasize the social disintegration which in the eyes of the elites was created by the arrogant freedmen.³⁵ It was their wealth that created a social atmosphere of antagonism over which Roman elites were greatly concerned.

Hence, the social and economic situation of Roman freedpersons was not uniform but could cover a wide range of levels of wealth. There may have been a considerable number of those who were at the very bottom of the Roman social pyramid that did not leave any records. They were burdened by *Operae* even after they were emancipated, which was one of the ways for the Roman elite to maintain a rigid social hierarchy. However, at the same time, there were also those who gained wealth as artisans or in commerce. Some of them were conspicuous to the extent that Roman elites as well as ancient authors referred to them as insolent. These people in society were possibly less attached to the elites, which was, to deduce from the elite’s reaction, a new phenomenon in Roman society.

1.1.2 Social order and the population of freedpersons

The following step is to analyze the social context of the first century BCE; a vital period for understanding the purpose of Augustus’ colonial programme that sent freedpersons to his colonies. An investigation of public order in this era will be followed by discussions on the population of freedpersons.

Freedpersons and social order in Rome in the first century BCE

Extant literary evidence from the first century BCE shows that it was a time when revolutionary groups were significantly active. These were drawn mainly from the discontented stratum of the

³⁵ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, pp. 59-60.

populace, and, in one incident, even Octavian is said to have been saved by his troops when he was attacked by rioters in 39 BCE.³⁶ There were agitators such as Catiline³⁷ who formed *collegia* of discontent, and the emergence of these *collegia* naturally led to the introduction of legislation in 64 BCE to ban certain associations that risked developing revolutionary factions.³⁸ Despite this legislation, the Clodian band of agitators was one of many which survived and gained large support among the discontented populace. These were predominantly composed of the humble population of Rome and a large part of them were possibly freedmen.³⁹ Although Cicero, for example, elsewhere calls them slaves,⁴⁰ they were certainly freedmen, since it was common to use such servile expressions to taunt freedmen.⁴¹ (Cicero also states that those who opposed and voted against him were shopkeepers and artisans.)⁴² When Clodius took over some men from Catiline's band, among them was a freedman, L. Sergius, who appeared to have influence over and the ability to stir up a great number of shopkeepers, perhaps indicating a common profession.⁴³ Certainly, it is important to note that this sector seems to be dominated by freedmen,⁴⁴ and, thus, not only slaves but also those who held citizenship might have been in Clodius' band. Since freedpersons were voters, some of them were thought to be hired to intimidate other voters.⁴⁵ Interestingly, studies have revealed that the band had close relations with the cult of *Lares* and adopted its structure.⁴⁶ By exploiting the religious mindset of the populace, the band formed an organization of a 'paramilitary' character.

It is also important to recognize that this kind of rebellious urban populace was not the whole

³⁶ Brunt, 'Roman Mob', p. 10.

³⁷ Cic., *Catil.*, iii. 15, 21, 25, iv. 17; Sall., *Catiline*, 48. 2.

³⁸ On the *senatusconsultum*, see e.g. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 169-172; 169, n. 6.

³⁹ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 172, 174.

⁴⁰ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 174.

⁴¹ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 265-6.

⁴² *Dom.* 90; *Acad. Pr.* ii. 144.

⁴³ Cic., *Dom.*, 13.

⁴⁴ On the occupation of freedpersons, see 1.1.1.

⁴⁵ Cic., *Dom.*, 79, 89; *Sest.* 112.

⁴⁶ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 173- 4.

picture. In the eyes of Roman elites, there were at least two kinds of freedpersons: as well as the rebellious groups noted above there were also a considerable number of those who were loyal to the elites, and the relation between the two groups needs to be recognized. During the Republican era, it was often the case that clients of the elites stood in opposition to the leaders of the humble populace. They were strongly expected to show *fides* towards their patron, and, as will be noted,⁴⁷ their relationship was strongly bound by the nature of favour-debt. In the early first century BCE, there were figures such as Sulla who ensured his own safety by means of freedmen who were freed for this purpose and who are said to have numbered ten thousand.⁴⁸ Cicero also comments rather boastfully that he was welcomed by the dependents of the nobles when he returned to Rome in 57 BCE.⁴⁹ In the first century CE, Tacitus also describes a similar pattern of groupings: ‘the sound section of the populace, attached to the great house’ and the ‘sordid plebs, habitués of the circus and theatres’.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Tacitus mentions elsewhere aspects of the Empire’s moral decline, describing how the betrayal of freedpersons led to social corruption.⁵¹ The safety of patrons was no longer secured, and he sees this phenomenon as the main symptom of social disintegration. Although the situation he describes is from a later period, it may be plausible to consider that this pattern of tension between the rebellious stratum and loyal groups had continued from the period of the late Republic.

Hence, the social order of Rome was so, for some, delicately balanced. Some groups formed ‘paramilitary’ structures within which freedmen were greatly involved. On the other hand, there were freedmen who were loyal to the Roman elites, and Roman politicians were constantly concerned with winning their support as well as their votes. To understand the significance of the situation, further quantitative investigation may offer a clearer outline to the social situation.

⁴⁷ On manumission and favour-debt, see 1.2.1.

⁴⁸ App., *BC*, 1.100, 104; *CIL* i. 722. See for details: Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 171, n. 2, 3, 4.

⁴⁹ *ad Att.*, iv. I. 5

⁵⁰ *Hist.*, i. 4

⁵¹ *Hist.*, 1.2.20; *Ann.*, 13.26, 15.54

The population of freedpersons in the first century BCE

A brief survey of the whole population of Rome may provide a broad picture. The figures during the late Republic and the early Principate have been studied by a variety of classicists:⁵² J. Beloch supposes that the number of male citizens and their families in Rome was 400,000 by Sulla's time, and 550,000 in 5 BCE. For the time of Augustus he estimates this number to be 800,000 including non-citizens. A higher figure, 1,000,000, is also proposed by J. Carcopino for the same period. Although these numbers do provide us with a general idea of the population of the time, fluctuation cannot be ignored. As well as the record of the increase in population caused primarily by the influx of captives from wars, there are also sources that record depopulation, such as the census of 46 BCE in Dio's *Roman History*,⁵³ in which Appian also comments that the number had decreased by half.⁵⁴ It thus seems important to acknowledge that the above figures did not remain constant but changed rather dramatically according to the fluidity caused by war, famine or disease. Inevitably, the number of freedpersons must also have fluctuated during this period, not only because of incoming slaves but also because manumission seems to have been more common during this period (partly due to the introduction of the free grain dole and the trend for large-scale emancipations to enhance an owner's reputation). The fact that the social category of freedpersons lasted only for one generation adds another factor to the equation. Unlike the sons and daughters of slaves, who were automatically slaves, freedperson's sons were legally free-born. Thus, the average length of time they lived as freedpersons needs to be ascertained in order to calculate accurately the population of a certain period. However, such evidence is lacking and is difficult to estimate. Nevertheless, a number of studies have attempted to calculate the demographics of freedmen in the Empire.

⁵² Treggiari refers to two Roman historians whom she calls modern authorities, J. Beloch and J. Carcopino: J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1886), pp. 392ff; J. Carcopino, *La vie quotidienne à Rome à l'apogée de l'empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1939), pp. 32ff; Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 43, n. 2. Cf. Brunt, 'Roman Mob', p. 9.

⁵³ 'Moreover, since, on account of the multitude of those who had perished there was a serious falling off in population, as was shown both by censuses ... and by mere observation, he offered prizes for large families of children.' D.C., XLIII. 25.2.

⁵⁴ 'He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one half of the number existing before this war. To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men [Gaius Julius Caesar and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great)] reduced the city.' App., *BC*, II. 102.

There seem to be a limited number of approaches for estimating the number of freedpersons in Rome. Tenney Frank, in 1932, attempted to calculate statistics by analysis of imperial tax revenues.⁵⁵ Theoretically, this would be possible if we had the data for the revenue of a certain period and the average cost of manumission. *Vicesima libertatis*, the tax on manumission, was five percent of the cost which was generally imposed upon slaves themselves.⁵⁶ Frank makes two main assumptions. He asserts that the money taken from the imperial treasury by Caesar in 49 BCE was solely from the manumission tax and assumes in his statistical calculations that the amount was 12 million *denarii* and that the years during which it was accumulated were from 82 to 49 BCE. But even if these figures are correct, it may be difficult to claim that the manumission tax was the only income during this time. Five hundred *denarii* is assumed to be the average cost of manumission on the basis of the Roman market at Delos.⁵⁷ However, this figure seems to be too hypothetical even for a rough estimation. According to Keith Bradley, we do not have sufficient sources on which to discuss the typicality of manumission figures in ancient Rome.⁵⁸ Some fragmentary examples follow: in the story written by Petronius, 400 *sestertii* is given as the amount; an aunt of the emperor Nero had a dancer who was freed for 10,000 *sestertii*; another literary record shows that a slave doctor paid 50,000 *sestertii* to be manumitted.⁵⁹ These amounts of money may be close to the price for which they were initially bought by their owners. However, given that slaves were not being ‘paid’ in the modern sense, the figures in these extant records seem to be a considerable amount of money for slaves to pay.⁶⁰ Such figures at the same time also suggest the length of service it would have taken for slaves to obtain

⁵⁵ T. Frank, ‘The Sacred Treasure and the Rate of Manumission’, *AJP* 53 (1932), pp. 360-3.

⁵⁶ According to Livy (vii. 16.7), this was one of the few sources of revenue in the first century BCE (Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 17). Duff states that the tax was paid by the slave owner (Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 29). Although there is no evidence, it is generally thought that the tax was paid by the owner if manumitted by the owner’s will; cf. K.R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 150.

⁵⁷ The figure he utilizes is 400 drachmae, which is thought to be the cost for which slaves were sold in Delos.

⁵⁸ Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, p. 107; also Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, p. 107.

⁶⁰ For comparison, an ordinary Roman legionary soldier’s annual salary in the first century CE was 900 *sestertii* during the time from Augustus to Domitian. Richard Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 10.

their freedom (slaves were in general freed towards the end of their lives).⁶¹ In any case, it is difficult, as Bradley states, to estimate the typical figures for manumission from the extant primary sources, let alone to deduce the number of slaves actually freed from this approach.

Another attempt can possibly be made by relying on a key text by Suetonius. It is said that the number of recipients of the grain dole had risen to 320,000 in the forties of the first century BCE.⁶² Considering that the recipients were free-born males and freedmen, and if their proportion is known, it would be possible to obtain a plausible figure for the number of freedmen in Rome. However, one of the difficulties is that humble free-born citizens, especially those who were at the bottom of the Roman social pyramid, are silent in the primary sources as they left no literary records.⁶³ Therefore, it is important to note that the extant evidence may well reflect a lower figure than the actual free-born population for this reason. The analysis of funerary inscriptions will be avoided since the inclusion of those whose specific (unknown) sensitivities involved setting up funerary inscriptions tends to distort the picture, (a point made by numerous scholars),⁶⁴ and the same caution may be pointed towards the investigation of archaeological evidence left by artisans. However, although funerary inscriptions may represent the culture of smaller groups, the products of artisans may represent a wider sector of an ancient society to which they belonged. For example, there is evidence that jewellers and goldsmiths in Rome consisted of 58% freedmen, 7% free-born and 35% slaves,⁶⁵ and evidence from Pompeii demonstrates a similar figure. Although it is necessary to be careful because of the fact that the social composition may have been different in Pompeii, where archaeological evidence of wealthy

⁶¹ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 35. However, this does not mean that all the freed slaves would fit into this pattern; for example, there were those who were freed by their owners' will, and those who were freed for financial reasons, i.e., so that they would be eligible to receive a free grain dole. There were also occasional large-scale instances, such as the case of Sulla, who freed 10,000 slaves, and the Jewish slaves who were enslaved by Pompey but freed relatively soon after they were brought into Rome (Philo, *Legat.*, 155). On early manumission of slaves, see the discussion by Mouritsen: H. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, pp. 150-2.

⁶² Suet., *Jul.*, 41; cf. D.C., xliii. 21.4. Brunt also relies on this figure to deduce the population of Rome. Brunt, 'Roman Mob', p. 8.

⁶³ Ramsay MacMullen points out that, although their numbers are uncertain as no written evidence of low status property remains, the bottom of the pyramid must have been the free poor. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, p. 92.

⁶⁴ Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 197f; Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 33; Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 206.

⁶⁵ Brunt, 'Roman Mob', p. 15.

freedmen's houses remain, extant seal stamps that were used to mark their *cognomina* show that at least two thirds of the names were those of freedmen.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the study of Ulrich Fellmeth, employing sources from a wider context, reveals a similar demographic. He examines the evidence from professional and religious *collegia*,⁶⁷ and investigates over 2300 names in 29 *collegia* in Rome and Italy during the Republic and the early Principate. His figures show that the percentages of freedmen were 65.0 and 63.3 for professional and religious *collegia* respectively. (The percentages of free-born were 32.8 and 17.3, and those of slaves were 0.1 and 18.7, for professional and religious *collegia* respectively.) Although such figures must be used cautiously and analysed carefully in relation to their local situations and by taking into account the nature of the group, i.e. whether they were professional or religious, a rough overview of these figures shows that freedmen made up more than half and up to two-thirds of the professional sector and religious associations.⁶⁸ It is thus worth noting that, according to these sources, freedmen were predominant in different kinds of social groups, especially in the artisan sector. However, deducing the precise proportion of freedmen to free-born seems to be unproductive as it varies considerably (roughly from double to eight times the above figures). Thus, again, although the plausible total figure for Roman male citizens in the forties of the first century BCE may be the 320,000 noted above, it seems difficult to deduce the exact number of freedpersons from the extant evidence.⁶⁹

Hence, although it has been shown that freedpersons represented a relatively large proportion of the population in Rome, calculating their exact number seems to have limitations, although evidence from religious and professional *collegia* that more than 60% of their membership in average was composed of freedmen suggests that there were sizable numbers of freedpersons. A further area to be explored is the Roman legislation, since the ways in which the Roman authorities regulated

⁶⁶ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 206.

⁶⁷ U. Fellmeth, 'Politisches Bewusstsein der städtischen Volksmassen in Rom und Italien zur Zeit der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit', *Eirene* 27 (1990), pp. 49-71 (53).

⁶⁸ The inscriptions of *CIL* i. 1202-1422, which are from the Republican era, demonstrate that the ratio of *libertini* to *ingenui* was approximately three to one, although the group is said to have had relatively wealthy members. See the comment by Treggiari: Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 32, n. 4.

⁶⁹ Treggiari comments that, because the population during the Republic fluctuated considerably, to deduce the number of freedpersons is 'an idle dream'. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 34.

manumission could reflect directly the social conditions of the time.

1.1.3 Roman legislation on emancipation

Augustus, having realized that the population of Roman citizens had increased in the first century BCE, regulated manumission; at least two laws regarding the restriction of emancipation were passed in 2 BCE and 4 CE (*Lex Fufia Caninia* and *Lex Aelia Sentia*). Another law, the *Lex Junia*, was also enacted in order to make it possible to institute manumission without conferring citizenship. However, whether this was in the time of Augustus or Tiberius is uncertain.⁷⁰ Manumission was not banned completely as it would have restricted or undermined the general framework of slavery;⁷¹ however, these regulations seemed to have had a great impact on Roman society, not only in the way in which they controlled the population but also in restoring social order. What follows will explore the content and function of these laws in order to investigate their purpose(s) in their social context.

The *Lex Fufia Caninia* regulated the maximum number of slaves a master could emancipate by his testamentary grant. This was determined according to the number of slaves the owner owned: the more owned, the smaller the percentage permitted to be set free,⁷² and the maximum number that could be freed was one hundred. The *Lex Aelia Sentia*, on the other hand, set a minimum age: no slave under thirty years old was to be freed and only masters over twenty years old were eligible to free their slaves. This attempted to restrict a growing trend at the turn of the eras in which it became increasingly common to manumit slaves when they were at a younger age rather than towards the end of their lives. The introduction of the free grain dole in 58 BCE by Clodius also had the effect of inducing more owners to free their slaves.⁷³ Also of importance is that the *Lex Aelia Sentia* added

⁷⁰ Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, p. 87.

⁷¹ Hopkins explains that manumission reinforced the system of slavery. K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1978), p. 118. Re-enslavement could have been an option, but was never instituted for the reason above. Tacitus states that the re-enslavement of freedpersons was debated among the senators during Nero's time. Although its historicity is uncertain, Nero's inaction on the issue is likely to be true. Tac., *Ann.*, 13.26.

⁷² For example, the proportion of his slaves an owner was permitted to free was a half if the master owned up to ten slaves; a third, if he owned up to thirty slaves; a quarter, if he owned up to one hundred; a fifth, if he owned up to five hundred.

⁷³ D.C., xxxix. 24; D.H., iv.24.5; Cf. Suet., *Jul.*, 41.

certain requirements to emancipation, which meant that Roman citizenship, which had been conferred automatically on manumitted slaves, was now amended and restricted by this law. The important change was that, if slaves were regarded as ‘insufficient’ to be fully emancipated, they instead received the status of ‘defeated and surrendered foreigners’ (*peregrini dediticii*). By ‘insufficient’, the law meant those who had been ‘chained by their owners, branded, publicly interrogated under torture and found guilty, or used to fight in the arena or sent to a gladiatorial school or imprisoned’.⁷⁴ In addition, these slaves were required to leave Rome and live beyond at least the hundredth milestone.⁷⁵ In this new amendment, three points are significant: the list of requirements clearly refers to the mob or gladiators; the new status, ‘defeated and surrendered foreigners’, shows that only slaves who were war captives were assumed to be affected by it; and the pattern whereby they were registered as foreigners and expelled from the city had a precedent in earlier Athenian law (cf. Plato, *Lg.* 915a). The third point also shows the distinct nature of the Roman system of manumission that had offered citizenship automatically to all freedpersons. It may be possible to state that this reflects the liberalism of Rome, especially compared to ancient Greece, which did not offer such rights to freed slaves.⁷⁶ In any event, as the first and second points indicate, it was crucial for Augustus to amend this law; the new degraded category possibly targeted a considerable number of slaves who were originally war captives and who had the chance of becoming rioters. This amendment was, in effect, one of the means of regaining authority over the strata of slave owners and patrons of freedpersons. It was at a time when additional regulations were crucial for maintaining social order.

⁷⁴ Gai., *Inst.*, 1.13; Ulp., *Fr.*, 1.11; see also Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 33.

⁷⁵ Gai., *Inst.*, 1.27.

⁷⁶ In Athens, neither citizenship nor inheritance from their patron was conferred on freed-slaves. Athenian slaves were required to be registered as metics (resident aliens) when they were freed, together with a citizen who was in effect their patron. In addition, a contract called ‘*paramonē*-agreements’ would be agreed, often guaranteed by a god (by inscribing on the wall of religious buildings) which imposed a duty on ex-slaves to remain with their former master for a certain number of years, or until the end of their patron’s lives. Some sources testify that they were still treated as slaves and their actual condition did not improve. N.R.E Fisher, *Slavery in Classical Greece* (2nd edn, London: Bristol Classical Press, 2003 [first published, 1993]) p. 67; T. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (London: Croom Helm, 1981). pp. 46-9 (esp. source nos. 23-26); Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not wholly Free: The concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World* (Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum 266; Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 225-6.

Although the *Lex Aelia Sentia* mainly covered slaves who used to be ‘defeated and surrendered foreigners’, this was of course not the only case. There were four main ways by which people became Roman slaves and it is important to recognize the different routes through which people were enslaved. Careful examination of their nature may also provide insights into the reason why the *Lex Aelia Sentia* was enacted.

As the *Lex Aelia Sentia* suggests, a large proportion of slaves in this period were war captives. When enemies were defeated in war, the captives were taken to Rome as slaves, which was a principal mechanism during the last two centuries of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire. In the former era, there was continuous warfare against external enemies as Rome expanded its territory and, although Rome experienced strong opposition from time to time, it continued to conquer cities of the Mediterranean world. The situation was not necessarily the same during the latter period since there were fewer possibilities for grand-scale conquest by that time. Nevertheless, further warfare continued to produce captives for Rome. A brief sketch of the numbers of war captives during these periods will help us to grasp the scale of Roman conquest. For example, before the second century BCE, it is known that Rome enslaved 20,000 captives in Aspis in Carthaginian territory in 256 BCE during the first Punic war;⁷⁷ when Carthage was defeated in 146 BCE in the third war, the numbers enslaved was in the region of 55,000;⁷⁸ furthermore, when Rome conquered the Salassi, an Alpine tribe, 44,000 captives were taken into slavery;⁷⁹ finally, even at the end of the second century CE, when the emperor Septimius Severus sent his troops against the Parthians, 100,000 people from the city of Ctesiphon were enslaved.⁸⁰ As the above cases show, warfare brought in substantial numbers of prisoners. However, it must be noted that its nature was rather haphazard and spasmodic,⁸¹ which possibly caused large fluctuations in the population of Rome.

⁷⁷ Plb., 1.29.7.

⁷⁸ Orosius, 4.23.

⁷⁹ Strab., 4.6.7; D.C., 53.25.4.

⁸⁰ D.C., 75.9.4.

⁸¹ K. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007 [1994]), p. 33.

Although there were massive influxes of slaves from outside Rome, it is misleading to consider that home-born slaves, *vernae*, were completely absent. It is difficult to determine their population, but evidence suggests that they were more favoured than other slaves by slave owners. Cicero states that his friend Atticus' domestic slaves were all *vernae*.⁸² It is understandable that their nature was, in general, less rebellious towards their owners as they were raised as slaves, whereas others were forcibly enforced into slavery through warfare and piracy. Suetonius testifies to a case of a home-born ex-slave, Q. Remmius Palaemon, who received an academic education and became a well-known teacher of literature; his extravagant character is also mentioned, which suggests great wealth (*de Grammaticis* 23). Such advancement must have been a rare case but it may be plausible to consider that *vernae* worked mainly as domestic slaves of great houses and had a greater chance of obtaining education for the purpose of some form of intellectual work. On the other hand, slaves for the labour force were more likely to have been brought in from outside.

It is also recognized that the exposure of infants was another route by which some became slaves. It is said that this was a common occurrence at all levels of society, not only among the poor who, for a variety of reasons, could not raise their children, but also among the wealthy who feared that they would have too many heirs. Since this was a wide-spread phenomenon in the Roman world, some were legally permitted to raise abandoned children as slaves.⁸³ Suetonius again mentions a teacher of literature who had previously been a slave in the Augustan era.⁸⁴ C. Molissus was a foundling who was raised as a slave but had an academic education. It is possible that a considerable number of children were raised as slaves following abandonment, although accurate statistics are difficult to ascertain.

Finally, piracy and slave trading must be mentioned. Evidence shows that piracy in the Mediterranean Sea was one of the major means by which slaves came to Rome. Indeed, the scale of piracy was so considerable that it inhibited trade by sea and raised the price of grain in Rome. It is

⁸² *ad Att.* 13.4; On *vernae*, see also Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 34.

⁸³ Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 35; T. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 7.

⁸⁴ *Gramm.*, 21.

said, for example, that the pirates of Cilicia were notorious and their victims were eventually sold to Roman merchants, and that they had specific centres, markets, where they sold the enslaved. The island of Delos was well-known for its slave market.⁸⁵ For other places, it is said that the history of slave trading in the western region of the Black Sea went back to the seventh century BCE. Gaul was also a region where the Romans exchanged Gallic slaves for goods such as Italian wine, and during the last two centuries of the Republic, it is said that the *annual* number of slaves sold from this area was 15,000.⁸⁶ These slaves sold by the rulers of the region were not only captives but also in some cases members of their own community. This supply of slaves led Roman slave merchants to travel constantly to these places to exchange goods for slaves.

There is therefore no doubt that there were massive influxes of slaves throughout the last two centuries of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire. The number of slaves needed in Roman society during this period can also be calculated, for it is said that the annual average number of new slaves that were needed for Italy alone was more than 100,000 during the era from 65 to 30 BCE.⁸⁷ The fact that Roman society required a great number of slaves and, at the same time, had a constant need for strong control over them was a reality with which Roman aristocrats were faced. On the other hand, slaves who were raised in Rome, mainly because they either were home-born slaves or became slaves through abandonment do not seem to have posed a danger; on the contrary, they seem to have had a better status in Roman society. Thus, it is understandable that the focus of the *Lex Aelia Sentia* was on the ‘defeated and surrendered foreigners’.

After the examination of the various pieces of legislation on manumission and the broader background regarding slaves, some views on Augustus’ reasons for enacting these laws need to be addressed. It has been of scholarly interest to look into the motives for this legislation. The debate centres on his racial view towards freedpersons, and it can be summarized by a particular

⁸⁵ It is said that the number of slaves sold daily at Delos was even in the tens of thousands in the early second century BCE; Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 37. The rampant situation of piracy and dreadful slave dealers near Hippo is also mentioned in the fifth century CE by Augustine (*Epistulae* 10).

⁸⁶ Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 36.

⁸⁷ Bradley offers figures from slavery in the New World for comparison: 28,000 African slaves were transported as an annual average, with 60,000 at the peak of the slave trade. Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 32.

understanding of a passage from Suetonius who writes, ‘considering it also of great importance to keep the people pure and unsullied by any taint of foreign or servile blood, he was most chary of conferring Roman citizenship and set a limit to manumission’.⁸⁸ Many historians naturally have argued on the basis of this passage that Augustus’ motives were ‘racial’.⁸⁹ However, Peter Brunt has questioned this conventional scholarly view⁹⁰ on the ‘racial contamination’ argument as there seems to be no other evidence that suggests that Augustus was against Roman assimilation of foreigners. However, even if the liberal understanding of Augustus’ policies may be true, there is no doubt that he placed a restriction on the number of manumissions rather than openly encouraging it. It is felt that further investigation will be needed on this issue in relation to the idea of liberalism that is said to have been emerging and growing in Rome at that time. For this part of the study, it is safe to state that one of the strong motives for this legislation was to regain social order by restoring the public standard of Roman values which had deteriorated in the first century BCE,⁹¹ and for ‘surrendered foreigners’, becoming *libertini* meant being recognized as a Roman citizen with Roman *mores*.

In summary, the number of freed slaves, primarily of foreign origins, increased as the Romans expanded their territory, and large-scale manumission became more common in the late Republic. It is likely that a large proportion of them dominated the sectors held by artisans and commerce. Some freedpersons accumulated considerable wealth and gained power in society, which consequently evoked great concern among the elites. There were also political agitators especially in the first century BCE that formed paramilitary groups by incorporating those from a lower social strata who are thought to have been freedmen. Consequently, two laws were enacted at the turn of the century which were to regulate manumission and, in effect, to control mobs in society by establishing criteria for obtaining Roman citizenship. This was to restore public order and resolve the crisis which was the social climate at the time of Augustus.

⁸⁸ Suet., *Aug.*, 40.3 (trans. J.C. Rolfe; LCL).

⁸⁹ See Bradley’s overview on this issue: Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, pp. 87, 148-9.

⁹⁰ P.A. Brunt, ‘Review of “W.L. Westermann, The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity”’, *JRS* 48 (1958), pp. 146-170.

⁹¹ Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 157.

1.2 Freedperson–patron relationships

Following the above discussion, this section aims to elucidate the relationship between freedpersons and patrons and the distinctiveness of Roman patronage that created ties between them. After manumission, ex-slaves were not freed completely but entered into patronage with their former owners. They incurred a favour-debt following emancipation which entailed formal and non-formal duties. The following highlights two aspects of that bond. Firstly, that such ties were based on a system of patronage that was a peculiarly Roman construct. (The various aspects that such social obligations were derived from their relationships will also be discussed.) Secondly, in elucidating the differences between general patronage and Roman patronage, insight will be gained on whether Roman patronage was a formalized system. Furthermore, as Romans colonized Greek cities, the Greek perception of Roman patronage will also be sought, which, it is hoped, will shed light on the situation in Corinth.

1.2.1 Manumission and obligations

In Rome, as the numbers of foreign wars increased, so did the number of slaves (*servi*).⁹² These slaves, although having legal opportunities to be freed through manumission, did not all have the same opportunities. Slaves in a private household were likely to have greater hope of being freed whereas slaves who worked in farming and mines had less. Owners would usually emancipate their slaves only if they could pay back the original price which the owner had paid, or the price the owner considered reasonable.⁹³ According to Keith Hopkins, manumission was a system of reproduction. The slaves usually paid their owner a certain amount of money from the meager pay which they accumulated through labour. Manumission was a strong incentive for them to work hard and it was mostly at an age at which they were no longer able to labour that they were finally emancipated. The owner of the slave would then use the money paid for manumission to buy a young slave as a

⁹² The number of slaves increased especially after the third century BCE: J. Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998[1988]), p. 163.

⁹³ Shelton, *As the Romans Did*, p. 186.

replacement. In this manner, the system of slavery was reinforced,⁹⁴ and thus manumission was a vital element in maintaining what was considered a vital and necessary part of the social system. There were, however, situations where slaves were freed at a younger age, and cases of large-scale manumission. These had specific purposes that were unique to the Roman historical context as mentioned above: i.e., the introduction of the free grain dole consequently brought more emancipation to slaves; the social atmosphere of the time induced Sulla to emancipate 10,000 slaves to reinforce his guards;⁹⁵ and, in many cases, slave owners freed slaves for the sake of their own reputation and status in order to show their generosity.⁹⁶

Historically, the Romans developed three different procedures to manumit slaves:⁹⁷ *manumissio vindicta*, *censu*, and *testamento*.⁹⁸ It was important for Rome for the procedures to be under the authority of the state, since social mobility had to be watched and the manumission tax (*vicesima libertatis*) needed to be collected.⁹⁹

During the Republic, two censors were elected every five years who were magistrates of high rank, and Roman citizens were summoned to appear before the new censors within eighteen months.¹⁰⁰ When Rome held a census, slave owners were able to have their slaves (those who had been registered as property) registered as freedpersons (*manumissio censu*).¹⁰¹ Incentives for masters

⁹⁴ Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, p. 118 (cf. Cic., *QF*, 1.1.13).

⁹⁵ App., *BC*, 1.100 and 104.

⁹⁶ It is said that wealthy men freed slaves to impress others with their generosity; Shelton, *As the Romans Did*, p. 187.

⁹⁷ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 54; Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 20-31; W.W. Buckland, *Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), pp. 439-44.

⁹⁸ Literary evidence connects their origin with the sixth and fifth centuries BCE: *manumissio censu* with the era of the fifth king of Rome, Servius Tullius (D.H., iv.22.4); *vindicta* with the early Republic (Livy, ii. 5.9); *testamento* with its treatment in the Twelve Tables (Ulp., *Fr.*, 2.4).

⁹⁹ *Vicesima libertatis* was five per cent of the cost of manumission (i.e. the amount of money which slaves paid to their master in order to obtain manumission). Cf. *P. Mich.* 7.426=CPL 171 (Mid-second century CE, Egypt. Papyrus fragment); cf. Flexsenhar, 'No Longer a Slave', pp. 32-3, 143. See 1.1.2 for details, under the subheading 'The population of freedpersons in the first century BCE'.

¹⁰⁰ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 21.

¹⁰¹ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 21. It is known that there was an interruption when Sulla was the Dictator of Rome.

to manumit slaves may have differed, but there have been cases, for example, where a slave owner would emancipate his female slave for the purpose of marriage. After gaining Roman citizenship, the freedwoman could become the wife of her former owner.¹⁰² However, since censuses were held sporadically during the Principate, it is considered that *manumissio censu* had become less common by the first century CE.¹⁰³

Manumissio vindicta was a more convenient procedure, in the sense that slave owners did not necessarily have to wait for the next census to be held; it is considered that slave owners could ask for *manumissio vindicta* at any time of the year.¹⁰⁴ The practice took the form of a trial in which a slave owner took his slave before a magistrate with *imperium*.¹⁰⁵ An *adsertor* who held Roman citizenship was also required to be present and to assert formally that the slave was free.¹⁰⁶ The slave owner would make no defence, and the magistrate adjudged that the slave was free. In the ceremony, the slave was touched by the rod which represented the authority of *imperium*;¹⁰⁷ however, it appears that the practice of the slap, '*alpa*', which the slave owner gave to the slave according to the classical law, did not occur during the time of the Republic.¹⁰⁸ The nature of the legal process can be found, for example, in the ways in which Cicero wished to invalidate the manumission of his two freedmen who had apparently broken the duty promised by *operae*. In his letter,¹⁰⁹ Cicero backs his assertion that the manumission was supervised by Cicero himself as a magistrate, and thus the owner of the slaves

¹⁰² Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 191.

¹⁰³ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 21. Cf. *P. Mich.* 7.426=CPL 171 (Mid-second century CE, Egypt, Papyrus fragment); *SEG* 35, 1167=GRIA 106 (mid-third century CE, Maionia); *P.Oxy.* 40.2937 fr. 2 (270 CE); cf. Flexsenhar, 'No Longer a Slave', p. 143.

¹⁰⁵ Plin. Ep., 7.16.4, 32.1. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 21. Qualified magistrates were a dictator, consul, interrex or praetor during the Republic, but some scholars consider that municipal magistrates had *imperium* towards the end of the Republic. P. Lopez Barja de Quiroga, 'Junian Latins: Status and Number', *Athenaeum* 86 (1998), pp. 133-63 (158, n. 65).

¹⁰⁶ It is said that there was a standard formula: 'hunc ego hominem liberum esse aio ex iure Quiritium'. Alan Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 220. Cf. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 11, n.9.

¹⁰⁷ Gai., *Inst.*, iv. 16; Plaut., *Mil.*, 961; Plaut., *Curc.*, 212; Hor., *Sat.*, ii. 7.76. Cf. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ Cic., *Att.*, vii. 2.8. Cf. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 22-3.

was not present at the time, which would mean that the process was improper. Cicero's appeal shows that *manumissio vindicta* was indeed a judicial process in Rome. In the provinces, it is important to note that the local magistrates were to oversee formal manumission.¹¹⁰

Finally, slave owners were able to manumit their slaves by testamentary will (*manumissio testamento*). The intention of the owner was required to be indicated clearly, usually with a form such as: *Stichus servus meus liber esto* ('My slave Stichus shall be free').¹¹¹ It became common among the wealthy slave owners during the late Republic to manumit a large number of slaves by *testamento*, despite the loss of the labour of slaves and the payment of manumission tax. This was partly due to the free grain dole introduced by Clodius in 58 BCE; those who became Roman citizens through formal manumission were eligible to receive the dole, which consequently lightened the responsibilities of the heirs. For the wealthy slave owners, this was their last occasion to show their generosity by manumitting slaves and to gain social honour; the slave owner would then have a large number of mourning ex-slaves wearing the cap of a freedperson (*pilleus*) surrounding his coffin at the funeral.¹¹² However, the number of slaves a master could emancipate was regulated by two laws that were passed in 2 BCE and 4 CE (*Lex Fufia Caninia* and *Lex Aelia Sentia*), because of the unstable social conditions mentioned above.

In addition to the three modes of formal manumission, it is known that there were two modes of informal manumission, namely *manumissio inter amicos* and *manumissio per epistulam*.¹¹³ a slave was declared free among friends of the slave owner as witnesses,¹¹⁴ or in a letter from the slave owner to the slave. The process of the development of informal manumission is not clear, but the

¹¹⁰ Lex Irnitana, ch. 28. Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 155; Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 21; Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 189, n. 313. On the issue of the *imperium* of *duoviri*, see e.g., Barja de Quiroga, 'Junian Latins', p. 158.

¹¹¹ Ulp., *Fr.*, 2.7. Cf. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 12. Cf. *P.Hamb.* 1.72=CPL 174 (Second century CE. Egypt); cf. Flexsenhar, 'No Longer a Slave', p. 143.

¹¹² D.H., iv.24.6. Cf. Fig. 1-4.

¹¹³ Buckland, *Roman Law*, p. 444; Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 155; B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (3rd ed.; Clarendon Law Series; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 74.

¹¹⁴ As in formal manumission, they were declared 'liber esto'. Plaut., *Epid.*, 730; *Men.*, 1093; Ter. *Ad.* 970.

practice became more common by the end of the Republic. It is conjectured that informal manumission developed as a temporary or emergency measure when there was no magistrate with *imperium* available, or because of the complicated process of formal manumission.¹¹⁵

Unlike formal manumission, informal manumission did not award ex-slaves any legal rights;¹¹⁶ however, it did not hinder them from being manumitted formally later. In 4 CE, the *Lex Aelia Sentia* imposed a series of conditions for formal manumission,¹¹⁷ which consequently created more slaves who were unable to gain formal manumission, and could only obtain informal manumission. Later, in the Tiberian period,¹¹⁸ the *Lex Junia* was established, which defined those who had been informally manumitted as Junian Latins. They were prohibited from marriage with a Roman citizen,¹¹⁹ and from inheriting any property from Romans.¹²⁰ However, if a Junian Latin met certain conditions (for example, when they reached the age of thirty,¹²¹ or if two Junian Latins married and had their first child registered) they were permitted to gain formal manumission,¹²² and were awarded Roman citizenship.

After slaves were manumitted, they became freedpersons (*liberti*)¹²³ and entered into patron-freedperson relationships with their former owners. Thus, manumission did not grant a slave complete freedom for they were still tied to their owner but it did bring a number of benefits. The

¹¹⁵ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 29-30.

¹¹⁶ It is not certain whether Greek manumission and manumission in synagogues (Jewish manumission) were categorized as informal manumission under the Roman law. It seems safe to consider that 'informal manumission' was only for cases where the slave owner was Roman.

¹¹⁷ See 5.2.2 for details.

¹¹⁸ It is conjectured that the *Lex Junia* was established during the time of Tiberius; however, the exact date is unknown.

¹¹⁹ I.e. they did not have the right of *conubium*. Cf. B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (Clarendon Law Series; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 64-5.

¹²⁰ Gai., *Inst.*, i. 23, 24. According to the *Lex Junia*, Junian Latins were not permitted to make a will: thus, when a Junian Latin died, their property automatically reverted to their former masters.

¹²¹ Provided that the Junian Latin met other conditions stated in the *Lex Aelia Sentia*. Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p 155. Buckland, *Roman Law*, pp. 533-7.

¹²² Ulp., *Fr.*, 3.3.

¹²³ The word *libertus* was specifically used in relation to his patron. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 37, n .5.

male freedperson, for instance, could now make himself known by the patron's full Roman name (first two names) and his own (*cognomen*) to demonstrate that he and his former patron were connected with an artificial form of the kinship of which the freedperson had been deprived when he was a slave. In this manner, the slave was given social 'birth' and their patron became a 'giver of life' to them, which meant that freedpersons were, in theory, always bound by this gratitude. This was possibly the view that society also imposed upon them.¹²⁴

The legal aspect regarding patrons and freedpersons is also of importance. Studies of Roman law suggest that Roman patrons did not hold any legal authority and power (*potestas*) over freedpersons.¹²⁵ It is true that there were laws concerning *liberti ingrati*; for example, *Societas Rutiliana* (named after P. Rulitius Rusu, 188 BCE) shows that a patron was able to demand half of the income of a freedperson and services (*operae*) for any offence the freedperson had committed.¹²⁶ This financial punishment became more rigid during the time of Trajan.¹²⁷ However, it is likely that patrons were in a dilemma for the following reason: freedpersons were seen as a part of their family; thus, taking them to court demonstrated, publicly, their lack of control over their family, which would have brought them a sense of shame. In practice, a patrons' authority over their freedpersons was the same as that which they held over their family, and indeed, general domestic legislation applied for various legal cases which may have involved a freedperson.¹²⁸

Thus, both patron and freedperson sought for an ideal relationship, as one can see in Ulpian and in the words of Publilius Syrus: 'The good freedman is a son without nature.'¹²⁹ As noted, a freedperson remained part of a patron's family if they were pleasing to them. It could also be said that

¹²⁴ This was 'a new bond based on debt and gratitude for the 'beneficium' of freedom'. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 36.

¹²⁵ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 53.

¹²⁶ Ulp., *D.*, 38. 2.1.1; For *Operae*, see section 1.1.1.

¹²⁷ Paul., *D.*, 29.5.10.1.

¹²⁸ Ulp., *D.*, 2.4.10.12; cf. *D.* 47.10.7.2.

¹²⁹ It seems that this was a well-known dictum: 'probus libertus sine natura est filius' (Publilius Syrus, P I (150)); Ulpian also states the parallel between a son and a freedman (*D.*, 37.15.9).

there were informal social expectations regarding the conduct of freedpersons.¹³⁰ This was expressed in a non-legal term: *Obsequium*.¹³¹ Such a notion required freedpersons to respect their patron through obedience and loyalty (*fides*);¹³² and this virtue can be seen in the language of a patron's words of recommendation. It is not certain whether there was a conventional vocabulary for recommending freedpersons,¹³³ but the devotion to a patron was very often expressed in terminology such as 'industrious', 'modest', 'frugal', 'attentive', and 'pleasing'.¹³⁴ To be sure, such literary evidence only provides an aspect of the culture of aristocrats; however, it may also reflect the social code for freedpersons: they were to live out their gratitude for manumission through such attitudes that were expected by society.

At the same time, there were freedpersons who were highly praised and who formed a close relationship with their patrons. For example, Cicero lauded a freedman, Dionysius, who was a teacher for his son, as 'a really fine man (*plane virum bonum*)'.¹³⁵ According to Mouritsen, who compares this text with Cicero's other letters, at this point Cicero went beyond the conventions of praise for freedmen since the phrase 'a fine man (*vir bonus*)' was normally only used for individuals from a higher social level. (Dionysius was Atticus' freedman but he later became 'joint' freedman of both Cicero and Atticus.)¹³⁶ Another example can be found in the writings of Cicero. Referring to a

¹³⁰ Tac., *Ann.*, 13.2; Gell., 6.3.8-55.

¹³¹ Jane Gardner states that *obsequium* is a non-technical term that is based on the moral duty (J.F. Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 23-5). Alan Watson also points out that there was no legal penalty for a breach of *obsequium*. A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1967), p. 228; cf. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 58.

¹³² G. Fabré, *Libertus: Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi a la fin de la republique romaine* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), pp. 226-32.

¹³³ Mouritsen refers to Blänsdorf, who is of the opinion that there was not a customary language for recommending freedpersons. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 62. n. 143; J. Blänsdorf, 'Zum Thema der Sklaverei in Ciceros Briefen', in *Fünfzig Jahre Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei an der Mainzer Akademie, 1950-2000: Miscellanea zum Jubiläum* (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 35; eds. Heinz Bellen and Heinz Heinen; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), pp. 447-456.

¹³⁴ Cic., *Fam.*, 13.21, 13.23, 13.70; Plin. Ep., 10.85, 5.19.9; Mart., 9.79.5-6 (praise for imperial freedman). Cf. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 61-3.

¹³⁵ 'I have found him not only a good scholar, which I already knew, but upright, serviceable, zealous moreover for my good name, an honest fellow, and in case that sounds too much like commending a freedman, a really fine man.' Cic., *Att.*, 7.4.1 (trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey; LCL).

¹³⁶ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 61, n.141.

freedman of P. Crassus named Apollonius, Cicero writes: ‘he was very attentive to Crassus and extremely well suited to promote his best tastes: and, accordingly, was much liked by him’.¹³⁷ To be sure, these were individual cases, but it may be said that it was relatively easy to develop these close relationships between patron and freedperson. It may also be that this is due to the nature of the interdependence that stemmed from manumission itself.

Non-literary evidence also testifies to the strong bond between patrons and freedpersons. Tombstone inscriptions testify that it was common for patrons to allow their freed slaves to be buried in the tomb of their family.¹³⁸ There are also sculptures of patron-freedman pairs (Fig. 1-1 and 1-2). These sculptures were normally established by patrons; however, there are inscriptions which were set up by freedpersons. In the necropolis at Isola Sacra, which was discovered in 1923, south of Rome, there are several plaques that were set up by freedpersons for their patrons. These are simple plaques which commemorate their patrons.



Fig. 1-1 Relief with portraits of P. Longidienus and his freedman (Koppermann, D-DAI-ROM-62.2151 ©DAI Rom)

¹³⁷ Cic., *Fam.*, 13.16 (Perseus under PhiloLogic, Latin Texts & Translations); this was when Cicero received the freedman after the death of Crassus.

¹³⁸ e.g. ‘To the Gods of the Underworld. Q. Alfidius Apolaustus to his revered wife Turrania Satulla with whom he lived for 45 years and to his son Q. Alfidius Apolaustus who lived 27 years ... and to their ex-slaves and their descendants.’ (*CIL* 6.11439); cf. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, p. 128.

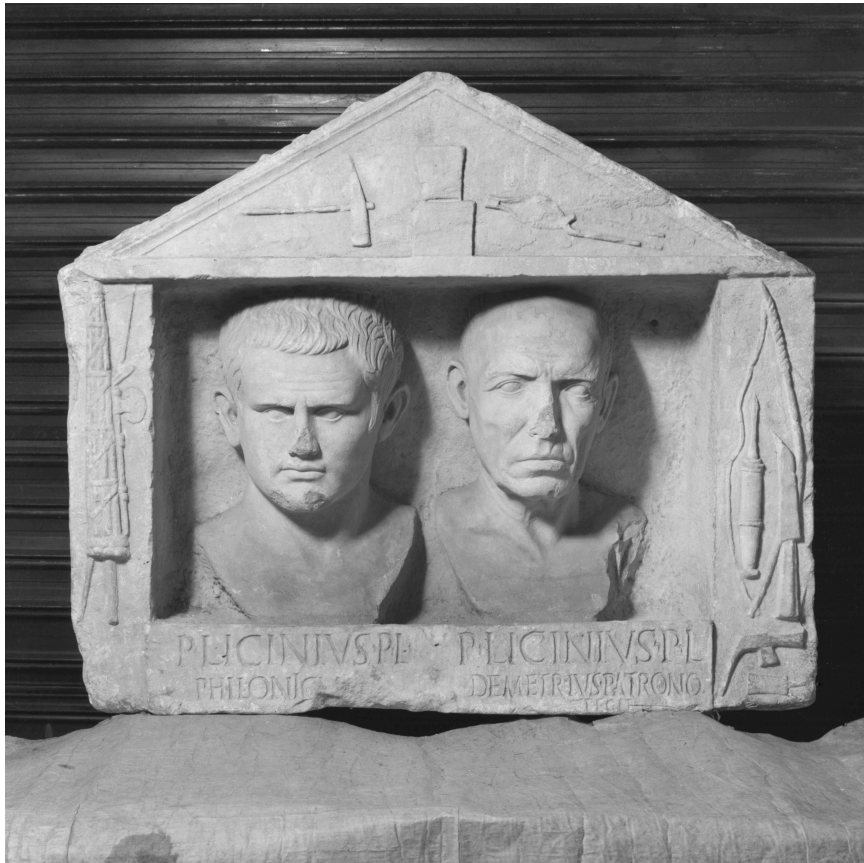


Fig. 1-2 Marble relief with portraits of the freedmen Publius Licinius Philonicus and Publius Licinius Demetrius: ca 30-10 BCE (Felbermeyer, D-DAI-ROM-60.1163 ©DAI Rom)

Epitaphs identifying the deceased as a patron and the commemorator as a *libertinus*¹³⁹

Cippus of Arria Moschis (A28)

To the spirits of Arria Moschis. Gaius Arius Iherax made (this cippus) for his noblest and well-deserving patron.

Plaque of the Iunii (A161)

To the spirits of the dead. Marcus Iunius Glaucus (?) made (this plaque) for himself and for Iunia (?) Trophime, his well-deserving patron.

Plaque of Licius Aufidius Paternus (A37)

To the spirits of the dead. Aufidia Secunda made (this plaque) for Lucius Aufidius Paternus, her noblest patron.

Plaque of the Claudii (A73)

Claudia Laudamia made (this plaque) for Tiberius Claudius Hyllus, her patron, and for herself and (her?) descendants.

¹³⁹ L.H. Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 233-4.

Although commemorating their patrons' death may have been a part of the social norm, the motive for setting up these plaques was primarily to demonstrate reverence, and it may well be that these freedpersons were those who had close relationships with their patrons. It is difficult to measure such affection towards their patrons, but it was certainly expressed through the occasion of their patrons' funeral or commemoration.

Finally, the relief from the tomb of Haterii, which shows a funeral in Rome in the first century CE, is worth mentioning.¹⁴⁰ The relief is said to be important evidence in the sense that little is known concerning the details of funerals or burial rituals of this era. As can be seen in Figs. 1-3 and 1-4, the relief shows a deceased woman laid on a bed, and a man behind the bed holding a garland, who may be her husband. A flute is being played and other figures are beating their breast. Three figures on the right wearing the caps (*pillei*) are freedpersons. As the relief shows, it was important for the patron to include freed slaves in the relief; the reason for this was possibly to display the patron's generosity, which was socially important. It may well be that the patron intended to show that his wife had an ideal relationship with their freedpersons and that the couple were always surrounded by freedpersons, since the funeral was possibly one of the most important occasions to show this publicly in order to honour the deceased. Whether this was the case or not, the patron's strong intention to show their presence can be observed from the relief.

¹⁴⁰ V.M. Hope, *Death in Ancient Rome: A sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 98; Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art*, p. 210-1.



Fig. 1-3 Relief of the Tomb of the Haterii (Schwanke, D-DAI-ROM-81.2858 ©DAI Rom)



Fig. 1-4 The detail of the relief of the Tomb of the Haterii (The detail of the original negative: D-DAI-ROM-81.2858 ©DAI Rom)

As noted above, the extant literary and non-literary evidence shows the strong ties of patronage between freedpersons and their former owner. This was based on the nature of manumission, through which slaves were given social ‘birth’ and an artificial form of the kinship of which they had been deprived since they were made slaves. In other words, the key element of patronage was the favour of being freed, and the freedom that they were finally offered was for them the point at which they would serve their former owners voluntarily. In this manner, freedpersons incurred chronic favour-debt. Since this relationship was not merely a form of general patronage but a peculiarly Roman construct, it is also important to look into the distinctly Roman elements to this relationship.

1.2.2 Roman Patronage

There were generally two ways in which individuals entered into a patron–client relationship in first-century Rome: through manumission and through self-commendation.¹⁴¹ After manumission, ex-slaves were not entirely free, but entered into a relationship of patronage with their former owners as observed above. Most of them could not be economically independent, thus, inevitably, a large proportion stayed with their former owners and continued to work for them as clients.¹⁴² At the same time, Roman patronage was not confined to freedperson–patron relationships; there were many others that became clients through self-commendation. This is attested by the fact that, in Rome, it was common to see large numbers of clients competing with each other around noble patrons. Thus, clients were not necessarily freedpersons, but could have been free-born. However, since the bond between Roman freedpersons and their patrons is a somewhat idiosyncratic Roman construct, the

¹⁴¹ To be precise, Claude Eilers explains that there were two types of patronage, namely the patronage of *individuals* and that of *communities*. In the individual type of patronage, people who became clients through self-commendation had voluntary relationships with their patrons, and those who became clients through manumission (freedpersons) had involuntary relationships with their patrons. Furthermore, he also elaborates on the patronage of *communities*; in this case, people became clients through co-optation or colonial conquest. In this part, I will mainly focus on the patronage of *individuals*. Claude Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 36.

¹⁴² Some owners emancipated slaves to impress others with their affluence and generosity. After manumission, freedpersons were legally free from their master, but they often stayed to serve their former owner. Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 187.

distinct nature of Roman patronage needs to be explored further. It is important, firstly, to look into the formalization of Roman patronage, since this would suggest whether Romans utilized patronage as a mean of social control. The second focus will be the difference between Roman and Greek patronage. Whether and to what extent Roman patronage entered into Greek cities will also be discussed. This will allow insight to be gained into first-century societies where Roman freedpersons played important roles in Roman provinces in Greece.

***Patronatus* and patronage**

Classical historian John Nicols makes a clear distinction between the two forms of patronage. He uses the Latin words *patronatus*, *patronus*, and *patrocinium* to describe the relationships of the Roman formalized system, and the English word ‘patronage’ to describe the relationship based on general asymmetrical reciprocal relationship in antiquity.¹⁴³ Since it is important not to dismiss the difference between these two types of relationship, these terms and their definitions will be employed in this study. Prior to beginning any discussion, it is important not only to categorize the two phenomena of social interaction, but also to understand the relationship between the two concepts. To give an accurate account of *patronatus*, the Roman formalized system, and patronage, a relationship of mutual exchange between socially unequal parties, would require a full monograph.¹⁴⁴ In this section, some views regarding this question will be noted to illustrate the relationship between the two concepts. For example, Danker points out that *patronatus* is a narrower subset of a wider reciprocal relationship that existed in ancient society.¹⁴⁵ He argues that since *patronatus* existed within Roman society, it is fallacious to assume that this Roman system existed in the same way in Greek-speaking societies.

¹⁴³ Nicols defines these words in his footnote to the title of his article: John Nicols, ‘Pliny and the Patronage of Communities’, *Hermes* 108 (1980), pp. 365-85 (365). He also comments: ‘Caesar was apparently the first to distinguish between benefactors in general and a subgroup of benefactors who bore the formal title of *patronus*’ (380).

¹⁴⁴ MacGillivray comments: ‘Offering a sufficiently robust analysis of all aspects pertinent to a classically rendered definition of patronage would require a monograph (or several) in itself’: Erlend D. MacGillivray, ‘Re-Evaluating Patronage and Reciprocity in Antiquity and New Testament Studies’, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 6 (2009), pp. 37-81 (39).

¹⁴⁵ Fredrick W. Danker, ‘Paul’s Debt to the *De Corona* of Demosthenes: A Study of Rhetorical Techniques in Second Corinthians’, in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (ed. Duane F. Watson; JSNTSup, 50; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 262-280 (278, n. 1).

Further, Erlend MacGillivray argues that the two notions derive from two different methodological approaches which he distinguishes by using the two terms ‘classical patronage’ and ‘socio-logical patronage’.¹⁴⁶ He is of the opinion that the latter cannot fully describe ‘classical patronage’.¹⁴⁷ From the characteristics of these approaches, one can also argue, with Stephan Joubert, that it is a question of the level of abstraction;¹⁴⁸ the former explores the specificity of a particular situation in history, which, for him, is a lower level of abstraction, while the latter studies the universality in many societies, which is a higher level of abstraction. Furthermore, it is likely that *patronatus*, the formalized relationship, developed from general patronage in Rome. In the view of Terry Johnson and Christopher Dandeker, one must also take into account the distance from the centre of power rather than merely focusing on the types of ‘exchange’ agreed by the two parties. When general patronage is analysed in this way, it can be understood that patronage/*patronatus* ‘is not only a structure of power but a system for the reproduction of power relations on a personalised basis’.¹⁴⁹ Bearing these views in mind, this study will first explore the nature of *patronatus*.

***Patronatus*, the formalized system**

The surviving literary evidence helps us grasp a general picture of *patronatus*. The sources that

¹⁴⁶ MacGillivray, ‘Re-Evaluating Patronage’, p. 42.

Terry Johnson and Christopher Dandeker point out that scholars such as Saller, Garnsey, Woolf, Drummond and Wallace-Hadrill are of the opinion that patronage is a relationship of asymmetrical reciprocal exchange, and that their views very often include as a crucial element that the patronage is a voluntary relationship. However, Johnson and Dandeker see patronage as a *social system* that is a historically specific structure, rather than a personal relationship. Terry Johnson and Christopher Dandeker, ‘Patronage: relation and system’, in *Patronage in Ancient Society* (ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill; London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 219-242 (221).

Koenraad Verboven considers that scholars’ views have been divided after the publication of Richard Saller’s *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire* in 1982: Koenraad Verboven, ‘Review of Claude Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)’, in ‘Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2003.06.19’ [<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2003/2003-06-19.html>] (accessed 29 Feb. 2012).

¹⁴⁷ Methodological discussions are fundamentally important in terms of comparing their legitimacy and limitations; however, they tend to be either-or discussions. It is felt that the two approaches do not contradict each other, but rather that they are complementary.

¹⁴⁸ Stephan J. Joubert, ‘One Form of Social Exchange or Two? “Euergetism”, Patronage, and Testament Studies’, *Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 31 (2001), pp. 17-25 (24).

¹⁴⁹ Johnson and Dandeker, ‘Patronage: relation and system’, pp. 224-226. However, they use ‘social relation’ and ‘social system’ for their terminologies.

contain descriptions about patron-client relationships come from a wide range of periods. For example, Plautus' *Menaechmi* (571ff.), one of the earliest pieces of Roman literature, presents an important argument about relationships between patrons and clients. In the play, Menaechmus makes a cynical comment on how patrons desire to have a great number of clients, and he stresses that it is the reliability of clients that is important, not the numbers.¹⁵⁰ A passage in Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae* (2.1.1) also tells how, in the first century, noble patrons were surrounded by and accompanied by their 'ambitious crowd of clients'. It was especially important for clients to honour their patrons on every occasion on a daily basis, for example by attending morning salutations.¹⁵¹ Finally, it is important to note that, in the perspectives of some first-century authors, the position of client was very low indeed. Cicero, for example, writes that, for the rich, to be treated as clients was 'like death'.¹⁵² These sources not only attest to the continuity of *patronatus* over the period but also show something of its fundamental nature in the sense of power relations.¹⁵³

To understand the specific nature of *patronatus* further, the question that will be explored here is whether, or to what extent, these relationships were involuntary. In other words, if there were any legal aspects regarding the relationship between the two parties, and whether their relation might

¹⁵⁰ 'What a stupid, irritating practice we have, and one the best people follow most! Everyone wants lots of clients. They don't bother to ask whether they're good men or bad; the last thing that counts is the reliability of the client, and how dependable he is.' Plaut., *Men.*, 571.

¹⁵¹ Sen., *Brev. Vit.*, 14.3f; Mart., 2.18, 3.36, 3.38, 3.46; Tac., *Ann.*, 14.56; Juv., *Sat.* 1.127, 3.124. In terms of the patron's responsibility of remembering clients' names, it seems fallacious to rely on the text of *Commentariolum Petitionis* by Quintus Cicero to deduce a general situation. Some scholars refer to 34-35 where Quintus Cicero states 'you must know each person's mind, so that you can decide how much confidence you can place on anyone'. However, the context of this work is regarding election; it specifically tells how one can conduct a campaign for election and gain supporters.

¹⁵² 'Nay more, it is bitter as death to them to have accepted a patron or to be called clients.' (Cic., *Off.*, 2.69).

¹⁵³ Furthermore, it is also worth noting that the position of clients and the form of the relationship changed over the period; according to Gérard, they became worse and more formal. R. Saller refers to J. Gérard. However, Saller disagrees with the period of formalization; J. Gérard, *Juvénal et la réalité contemporaine* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres; 1976), (esp. ch. 6). Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 128, n. 57.

The elements of formalization are debated by historians; for example, it is questioned whether money was always distributed at *salutationes*. It seems that, whether the money was involved or not, there was a gradual change in their relationship, so that clients gathered around their patron for some kind of reward, rather than being motivated by pure loyalty. Saller comments that there must have been some kind of reward to give clients incentives to work for their patrons. Saller. *Personal Patronage*, p. 128, n. 57.

have functioned as a Roman social system rather than merely general patronage. This question will first be explored by looking into primary sources that are related to Roman law.

Andrew Drummond, in his analysis of the era of the mid to late Republic, asserts that there is no indication that the patron-client relationship was sustained by legislation.¹⁵⁴ One of the focal points of his discussion concerns the Twelve Tables from the mid-fifth century BCE, which are said to have been used as a backbone of Roman law. Table VIII, 21, states as follows:

Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto

If a patron defrauds his client, let him be accursed.¹⁵⁵

Drummond's general view is that it was a completely voluntary relationship and people became clients freely. He comments, 'Like friendship (*amicitia*) and guest-friendship (*hospitium*), it could become hereditary but with no indication that this brought any stigma to the client.'¹⁵⁶ Therefore, he considers that the passage in the Twelve Tables that describes the patron-client relationship was 'little more than a pious wish'.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, MacGillivray, who also refers to the same source, is of the opinion that the Roman patron-client relationship was a formalized system rather than a voluntary relationship;¹⁵⁸ however, he acknowledges that Roman law does not provide us with a conclusive view on this issue.

Another primary source that needs to be mentioned is a passage from Dionysius' *Roman Antiquity*,¹⁵⁹ which describes the patron-client relationship at great length. Although it is said that its

¹⁵⁴ Andrew Drummond, 'Early Roman clients', in *Patronage in Ancient Society* (ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill; London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 89-115 (p. 101).

¹⁵⁵ Drummond translates this as 'If a patron does mischief to a client, he shall be *sacer* (i.e. an outlaw)'. Drummond, 'Early Roman clients', p. 90, n. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Drummond, 'Early Roman clients', p. 101.

¹⁵⁷ Drummond, 'Early Roman clients', p. 101.

¹⁵⁸ MacGillivray, 'Re-Evaluating Patronage', p. 43.

¹⁵⁹ D.H., ii.9-11. Dionysius, who lived during the era of the dawn of the Roman Empire, narrates of the beginning of the patron-client relationship. According to him, it is the founder of Rome, Romulus, who created πατρωνεία in the eighth century BCE.

content lacks historicity and that Dionysius' narrative about Romulus is much idealised,¹⁶⁰ this does not mean that the text does not carry any historical significance; rather, it provides us with great insight into the situation of the time it was written: i.e., the early Roman Empire. In the passage, Dionysius explains that Romulus, the founder of Rome, divided Roman citizens into two groups, aristocracy and plebeians, and he introduced *πατρωνεία* for the benefit of both aristocracy and plebeians. The effect of *πατρωνεία* is praised; according to Dionysius, Romulus succeeded in creating a competition of goodwill, and the measure of a person's happiness became virtue rather than fortune.¹⁶¹ In this way, he brought about the realization of peace in Roman society.¹⁶²

Joubert convincingly explains Dionysius' intention: the evident glorification of Romulus' *πατρωνεία* was to promote a new social and political stability in his time. Furthermore, he comments that this was to promote Augustus implicitly as the embodiment of Romulus.¹⁶³ Whether this propagandistic view of Augustus is correct or not, Dionysius, by depicting the past in this manner, greatly supported the concept of *πατρωνεία*. It may well be that Dionysius was promoting his view of this system against opposing opinions. It was the *patronatus* which he glorified: the Roman system

¹⁶⁰ Drummond comments, 'If ... Dionysius' account has no documentary basis, there must be a strong possibility that, like other elements in his schematic and idealising account of the Romulean constitution, it is a later reconstruction.' Drummond, 'Early Roman clients', p. 91.

Stephan Joubert refers to Bormann's comment as the present scholarly opinion: 'Die Darstellung, die Dionys vom Patronat gibt, ist weder für die Gründungszeit Roms, noch für seine eigene Gegenwart eine historisch exakte Beschreibung der Verhältnisse.' (The depiction Dionysius gives of patronage is not a historically accurate description of the situation, either for the time at which Rome was founded, or for his own time.) L. Bormann, *Philippi. Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), p. 202; Stephan Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor: Reciprocity, Strategy and Theological Reflection in Paul's Collection* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), p. 61.

¹⁶¹ 'And it is incredible how great the contest of goodwill was between patrons and clients, as each side strove not to be outdone by the other in kindness, the clients feeling that they should render all possible services to their patrons and the patrons wishing by all means not to occasion any trouble to their clients and accepting no gifts of money. So superior was their manner of life to all pleasure; for they measured their happiness by virtue, not by fortune.' (D.H., ii.10.4.)

¹⁶² It is also interesting that Dionysius does not forget to mention that *πατρωνεία* was extended to the subject people of the Roman colonies (ii.11.1). This was also a set theme of the story: that is, to depict the ideology of Roman peace of the whole Empire.

¹⁶³ Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor*, p. 62, n. 149. Joubert also refers to Bleicken's view: 'Als weiterer Ehrentitel tritt i. J. 2 v. Chr. schließlich noch *pater patriae* hinzu, durch den Augustus nicht nur als sorgender Vater der Römer, sondern vor allem als Neubegründer Roms und damit als zweiter Romulus hingestellt werden sollte.' (In 2 BCE, *pater patriae* finally began to be used in addition as an honorary title, by means of which Augustus was not only elevated to the position of caring father of the Romans, but above all the new founder of Rome and thus as a second Romulus.) J. Bleicken, *Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte des Römischen Kaiserreiches* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981), p. 47.

that was believed to bring peace to the Roman Empire.¹⁶⁴ Freedpersons were then, fundamentally, people who were patronized by the bond that sustained Roman power.

To be sure, there may be grounds for questioning whether *patronatus* was instituted by Roman law.¹⁶⁵ However, it may be irrelevant to impose a modern understanding of what may be considered ‘voluntary’ onto the world of antiquity. That is, it was not an entirely voluntary relationship agreed solely by the two parties, but rather a relationship which was acknowledged by society at large. More importantly, it seems legitimate to conclude that Dionysius’ source itself reveals that *patronatus* was to some extent a politically imposed system resulting from and underpinned by the Roman system of inequality. Therefore, the freedperson–patron relationship was an important part of this social system.

Patronatus in Greek cities

Having discussed the nature of *patronatus* in Rome, we now turn to *patronatus* in Greek cities and the importance of recognizing the degree of Roman control over various Greek provinces and cities. However, constraints of space precludes anything but a cursory analysis of some general characteristics of the patron-client relationship within Greek cities and how this may inform perceptions of the situation in Corinth.

Moses Finley, in the course of making some general comments about patronage in Greek cities, defends his opinion against a view which rejects the inherent social ‘power’ of relations of patronage, arguing that, although there is little evidence of patronage in, for example, Athens, the patron–client relationship certainly existed, since it is a mistake to restrict the terminology to the ‘peculiar Roman type’. This is because patronage is a reciprocal relationship based on the objective

¹⁶⁴ In opposition to this view, Drummond states: ‘At best, therefore, Dionysius will be describing the rights and obligations of patrons and clients as they became established by custom, not as laid down by specific enactment.’ Drummond, ‘Early Roman clients’, p. 91.

Regarding the ideological view, Wallace-Hadrill states: ‘Patronage ... became a vital part of conscious Roman ideology of how their world both was and ought to be.’ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Patronage in Roman society: From republic to empire’, in *Patronage in Ancient Society* (ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill; London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 63-87 (65).

¹⁶⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Patronage in Roman society’, p. 65.

element of exchanging goods or services.¹⁶⁶ As he aptly made his point by making the distinction between the Roman *patronatus* and ‘patronage’, he is of the opinion that the latter was a fundamental part of peoples’ relationships in Greek cities.

Greek authors generally seem to have a negative view of how people of different social levels interacted in their daily lives in Rome, and this is demonstrated well in Polybius’ text from the second century BCE. It is especially evident in a passage where Polybius tells how King Prusias of Bithynia behaved oddly towards Romans (*The Histories of Polybius*, XXX, 18).¹⁶⁷ When King Prusias was in Rome, and a number of Roman legates came to meet him, he intentionally wore ‘a white hat and a toga and shoes, exactly the costume worn at Rome by slaves recently manumitted or “liberti” as the Romans call them’. Polybius comments that the king ‘was a man by no means worthy of the royal dignity’. Indeed it is not what a king was expected to do, but what is clear is that there was a sense of social stigma; Prusias, by saying that he was ‘imitating everything Roman’, humiliated the Roman legates. It was shameful to be, or even to wear the costume of, a Roman freedperson. Lucian also narrates that Nigrinius, who had visited Rome in the second century CE, found it ‘ridiculous’ not only to see how the rich people showed off their possessions, but also to see huge crowds of people gathering in front of the houses of the Roman nobles to receive mercy (*Nigrinius* 22).¹⁶⁸

Although such texts do not provide direct evidence about the first century BCE, it is interesting to note that literary authors could not envisage this Roman social system in the Greek East; it was for this reason that it seemed ‘ridiculous’ in the eyes of the people of Greek societies. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill comments, ‘Patronage was central to the Roman cultural experience, in a way in

¹⁶⁶ Moses Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 40-41. He defines his terminology thus: ‘Throughout I shall employ the words ‘patron’ and ‘client’ in their widely recognized sociological sense, not in the technical sense.’ Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World*, p. 41, n. 39.

¹⁶⁷ It is King Prusias of Bithynia who seems to be anti-Roman rather than Polybius (Polybius: 200–118 BCE).

¹⁶⁸ ‘Far more ridiculous, however, than the rich are those who visit them and pay them court. They get up at midnight, run all about the city, let servants bolt the doors in their faces and suffer themselves to be called dogs, toadies and similar names. By way of reward for this galling round of visits they get the much-talked-of dinner, a vulgar thing, the source of many evils.’ Luc., *Nigr.*, 22. (Lucian: 125 - after 180 CE)

Although Joubert explains these as examples of Roman patronage, strictly speaking they do not specify the people as patrons or clients. Joubert, ‘One Form of Social Exchange’, pp. 22-23.

which it was foreign to the Greek cultural experience.¹⁶⁹ However, he does not elaborate on what the situation in Greek cities was. For many scholars, whether Roman patronage (*patronatus*) existed in Greek cities has been an important question of interest. MacGillivray, who explores patronage in the Greek East, argues on philological grounds that patronage did not enter into Greek society.¹⁷⁰ He explains, however, that there existed ‘euergetism’, which is a relationship between a benefactor and collectives.¹⁷¹ Joubert, who also recognizes the corporate nature of this relationship, notes an interesting phenomenon, that Greeks saw Roman patrons, unlike Greek benefactors, as oppressive to the Greeks.¹⁷² Eilers, who carefully looks into the epigraphic evidence of patronage in Roman colonies, concludes that Roman imperialism brought senatorial patronage to an end. This phenomenon eventually led to the decline of patronage in the East.¹⁷³

In summary, it has been shown that *patronatus*, the Roman form of patronage, played an important role in sustaining the Roman social structure; it controlled freedpersons by imposing a situation on them in which they were eternally grateful to their patrons, and which was based on the very nature of manumission. It was an essential political device which served Roman power.

Greek authors naturally saw this negatively, e.g. in observing clients gathering around their patron, especially in the typical dress of freedpersons. It may well be that this was because many of them were their compatriots. It is said that there was even a language for referring to oppressive Roman patrons. However, this does not mean that there was no patronage in Greek cities; the reciprocal relationship based on *fides* continued since it was an essential part of the freedpersons’ lives and one which ensured their survival.¹⁷⁴ A social bond in the ancient world was a close-knit relationship; mutual loyalty and networks of favour were essential parts of their lives, and this was an

¹⁶⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Patronage in Roman society’, p. 65.

¹⁷⁰ MacGillivray, ‘Re-Evaluating Patronage’, p. 52.

¹⁷¹ MacGillivray, ‘Re-Evaluating Patronage’, pp. 47-51. Joubert also explores the similarities and differences between patronage and ‘euergetism’; Joubert, ‘One Form of Social Exchange’, pp. 21-24.

¹⁷² Joubert, ‘One form of Social Exchange’, p. 21.

¹⁷³ Eilers, *Roman Patrons*, p. 108.

¹⁷⁴ Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World*, pp. 40-41; Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Patronage in Roman society’, pp. 65-66.

important way of providing security.¹⁷⁵ The difference seems to be that there was a relatively strong collective nature in Greek patronage; that is, local nobles were honoured by the members of a community, and they were called ‘patron’ as an *honorific title*. Thus, these were not relationships that directly served the interests of the two individuals; it was a relationship in which the noble person offered gifts for the benefit of the whole community, such as in the construction of buildings, and in return, the members of the community supported the noble person.¹⁷⁶ These points above will be important in understanding the tension between Greeks and Romans in Corinth.

¹⁷⁵ E.g., ‘For how else do we live in security if it is not that we help each other by an exchange of good offices? It is only through the interchange of benefits that life becomes in some measure equipped and fortified against sudden disasters.’ Sen., *Ben.*, 4.18.1.

¹⁷⁶ It is most likely that noble figures such as Erastus and Babbius Philinus were honorific benefactors, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

ROMAN CORINTH AND FREEDPERSONS

In the previous chapter, some of the key aspects of Roman freedpersons were discussed. The study has shown how Romans dealt with the issues of ex-slaves, and how these issues were in a larger sense a result of the Roman expansion of territory. The place of freedpersons in society as well as their relationships with their patron was explained. With this fundamental picture of freedpersons in mind, the study will now turn to the situation in Corinth. In 44 BCE, Julius Caesar sent a great number of freedpersons to his colony at Corinth, which had been left desolate for a century. The city was refounded by freedpersons. Therefore, how one sees the picture of Corinth in the mid first century CE largely depends on one's views of the history of the refoundation programme in Corinth, in which freedpersons were greatly involved. This chapter primarily explores three aspects of the period. The study will first look into the cultural setting of Corinth. There is no doubt that the Romans established a Roman colony, but the Greek element in society must also be examined carefully according to the period. It is important to account for the cultural shift since it might reflect how Romans dealt with the changing society of the colony. The place of freedpersons in society also depends on the economic situation; therefore, it is vital next to explore the characteristics of the Corinthian economy. The kinds of sectors that had economic capacity will be investigated, and the focus of the discussion will be the freedpersons' contribution to economic growth. Finally, their religious life will be investigated. While the imperial cult was central to the lives of the people, the Roman policy on Greek cults is an important question, especially from the viewpoint of social control. The study intends to elucidate the Roman social policy on Greek cults as well as the ways in which freedpersons played their roles in the midst of that social context.

2.1 Freedpersons and the cultural frame of Corinth

Corinth was unique in the sense that it had once prospered as a major Hellenistic city, but, unlike most other cities, was destroyed by the Romans before it was refounded under the orders of Julius Caesar in

44 BCE. The city had thus been left desolate for one century after the sack of the city in 146 BCE.

The new city was rebuilt in the same location as the old Greek city, and much architectural remains of the old city was reused. People who were sent to Corinth were said to be mainly freedpersons whose task was to rebuild the city.¹⁷⁷ Once the city had been refounded, the economic growth in the first century attracted people from different regions, together with the participants and spectators of the re-appointed Games that were held in Corinth.¹⁷⁸ From the second century, especially after the reign of Hadrian, Greek culture was reintroduced, according to the policy of Philhellenism. Thus, it is important to focus on this historical context from the point of view of the cultural frame. The question to be asked is to what extent the city of Corinth had a Greek culture in the midst of the dominant Roman culture. The discussion will concentrate on two chronological periods: from the destruction of the city in 146 BCE until the settlers arrived in 44 BCE, and from the foundation of the Caesarean colony until the end of Nero's era in 68 CE. The latter period will be discussed further in three stages, namely rebuilding, stabilization, and integration with the surrounding Greek cities.

2.1.1 Pre-colonization period: from 146 BCE to 44 BCE

From the literary sources that describe the period before 44 BCE, there seems to be no evidence that

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Strab., 8.6.23: 'It was restored again ... by the deified Caesar, who colonised it with people that belonged for the most part to the freedmen class.' Although ancient writers do not mention veterans in any of the sources, except for freedpersons and some soldiers (Strab., 8.6.23, 17.3.15; Plut., *Caes.*, 57.8; App., *Pun.*, 136), many scholars assume that veterans were included in the colonists (e.g., D. Engels, *Roman Corinth: an alternative model for the classical city* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), pp. 17-18; D.G. Horrell, *The Social Ethos of the Corinthian Correspondence: Interests and Ideology from 1 Corinthians to 1 Clement* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), pp. 16-17, 65). This is because it was common for Roman veterans to receive such colonized cities and buildings from Caesar as their rewards, which consequently gained their devotion. However, since there is no evidence to support the presence of veterans in Corinth, scholars such as Benjamin Millis stress that the majority of the settlers were freedpersons, and not veterans (B.W. Millis, 'The Elite of Early Roman Corinth: Social Origins, Status and Mobility', paper presented at SBL International Meeting, London, 7 July 2011; B.W. Millis, 'The Social and Ethnic Origins of the Colonists in Early Roman Corinth', in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (eds. Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters; NTSup, 134; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 13-35). Horrell comments on this view in the review of this paper; he sees that Millis' point challenges the perspectives of commentaries and scholarship, e.g. the assumption that Corinth was a thoroughly Roman city (D.G. Horrell, 'Review of *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Edited by Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters', *JTS* 62 (2) (2011), pp. 714-717 (716)); it is probable that veterans were 'a small minority' compared to the numbers of freedpersons that constituted the majority of the new settlers (J. Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier Inc, 1983), p. 66).

¹⁷⁸ D. Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 33-36.

shows the presence of Greek residents after 146 BCE;¹⁷⁹ one exception is that Cicero mentions that Sikyonian had resided in a part of the land of Corinth (*Tusc.* 3.22.53).¹⁸⁰ According to Strabo, the city ‘had remained deserted for a long time’ (*Geography* 8.6.23) and his report shows that the valuable remains had been untouched since the Roman general Mummius destroyed the city. Pausanias writes in his *Description of Greece* that the majority of men were killed by the Romans, and the women and children were sold into slavery (7.16.8), and ‘Corinth is no longer inhabited by any of the old Corinthians Corinth was laid waste’ (2.1.2). However, these depictions may have been intended to emphasize the destruction of Corinth by the Romans to depict their supremacy over the Greeks. Archaeological evidence suggests that the sack was not complete, and there were Greeks who managed to escape from the hands of the Romans.¹⁸¹ For example, Elizabeth Pemberton, who has studied the Hellenistic ceramic artefacts such as petal bowls, concludes that the ceramic industry may have continued to exist on a smaller scale.¹⁸² Donald Engels supports this view by pointing out that the Corinthian bronze, which is a unique bronze alloy high in tin, is found in both the Greek and the Roman era. He claims that it was the Greeks residing in Corinth who kept the secrets of its production for 102 years after the defeat.¹⁸³ This view possibly refutes the claim that these locals were relocated

¹⁷⁹ E.R. Gebhard and M.W. Dickie conclude: ‘No confidence can be placed in what the literary record has to say about the degree of destruction visited on Corinth by Mummius; Corinth’s destruction was a set theme.’ E.R. Gebhard and M.W. Dickie, ‘The View from the Isthmus, ca. 200 to 44 B.C.’, in *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896–1996* (eds. Charles K. Williams II and Nancy Bookidis; Vol. 20; Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), pp. 262–78 (277).

¹⁸⁰ Romano further comments that Sikyon possibly remained a free city, but taxation was likely to be imposed upon its people. D.G. Romano, ‘City Planning, Centuriation, and Land Division in Roman Corinth: *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* and *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*’, in *Corinth, the Centenary, 1896–1996*, pp 279–301 (280, n.12).

¹⁸¹ Engels refers to J. Wiseman, ‘Corinth and Rome, I: 228 B.C to A.D. 267.’ *ANRW* II, 7.1. (1979): 438–548 (493–96). Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 70, n. 20.

¹⁸² There are discussions concerning the dating of the objects that show the activities during this period. The following seven articles are briefly reviewed in E.R. Gebhard and M.W. Dickie, ‘*The View from the Isthmus*’, p. 266 n. 41–47: C.K. Williams II and P. Russell, ‘Corinth: Excavations of 1980’, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), pp. 1–44; J. Wiseman, ‘Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267’, *ANRW* 7.2 (1979), pp. 173–192; C.M. Edwards, ‘Corinth, 1980: Molded Relief Bowls’, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), pp. 189–210; J. MacIsaac, ‘Corinth: Coins, 1925–1926: The Theater District and the Roman Villa’, *Hesperia* 56 (1987), pp. 97–157; E.G. Pemberton, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Greek Pottery: Corinth XVIII*, 1 (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1989); Irene Bald Romano, ‘A Hellenistic Deposit from Corinth: Evidence for Interim Period Activity (146–44 B.C.)’, *Hesperia* 63 (1994), pp. 57–104; S.I. Rotroff, ‘Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls’, *Agora* 22 (1982), p. 35.

¹⁸³ Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 70.

before the settlers arrived.¹⁸⁴ Taking these arguments into account, it is legitimate to conclude that Corinth was refounded by using the old Greek city with at least a small number of people residing who had maintained the Greek culture.¹⁸⁵

2.1.2 Colonization period: from 44 BCE to 68 CE

Rebuilding period

During the period of its refoundation, the new landscape was laid out according to the principles of the Roman city, as David G. Romano reports.¹⁸⁶ The Roman grid called *centuriation* was applied, although the alignment was chosen to keep the Greek orientation rather than to align the buildings with the Romans' own grid.¹⁸⁷ It is clear from the inscriptions that the official language was Latin; there are four in Greek and 101 in Latin from the time from Augustus to Trajan.¹⁸⁸ Interestingly, from the reign of Hadrian to Gallienus, this ratio is reversed; the evidence shows that thirty-five are in Greek and seventeen are in Latin, which indicates the Roman policy of Hellenization. However, this

¹⁸⁴ Another possibility is that these small numbers of people were relocated before the first settlement in 44 BCE. James Walters, 'Civic Identity in Roman Corinth and Its Impact on Early Christians', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (ed. Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen; HTS 53; Cambridge and MA: HTS, 2005), pp. 397-417 (402).

¹⁸⁵ In addition, during this period, the Isthmian Games, in which Corinthians had great pride, were transferred to Sikyon, the nearby city to the west of Corinth (Paus., 2.2.2). The return of the Games to Corinth had to wait until the arrival of Romans in Corinth.

¹⁸⁶ D.G. Romano, 'Urban and Rural Planning in Roman Corinth', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, 2005, pp. 25-59 (59).

¹⁸⁷ This was first pointed out by S. Weinberg, who observed that the orientation of the Julian Basilica accords with the earlier Greek orientation. S. Weinberg, *The South East Building, the Twin Basilicas, and the Mosaic House: Corinth I*, 5 (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1960), pp. 37-38.

¹⁸⁸ To be sure, according to Theissen, two out of four cannot be dated with certainty. Winter only discusses one Greek inscription and regards it as an exception since it was "not an official inscription from Corinth's 'Council and People'". G. Theissen, *Essays on Corinth: The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), p. 112, n. 20; Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, p. 12. Winter and Theissen both rely on the work by Kent: J.H. Kent, *The Inscriptions, 1926-1950: Corinth*, VIII, 3 (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966).

In terms of the inscriptions, the evidence in Thessalonica shows a clearer picture than in Corinth. Peter Oakes notes, in Thessalonica, that only forty-seven out of more than one thousand inscriptions are in Latin. He refers to C. vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki - Stadt der Kassander und Gemeinde des Paulus* (WUNT II.125; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), p. 99; and P. Oakes, 'Contours of the Urban Environment', in *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later* (eds. Todd D. Still and David G. Horrell; London: T&T Clark, 2009), pp. 21-35.

policy was not applied during the foundation period of Corinth. Most of the coins minted in Corinth until the closure of the mint in 67 CE are reported to have been in Latin.¹⁸⁹ The important point here, however, is that there are coins produced in the early Roman period that have Greek traditions in their designs, such as Greek gods, the city-goddess and local legendary heroes.¹⁹⁰ From a political point of view, coinage must have been a sensitive issue in terms of ruling the colony. There are also ‘tesserae’ (‘coin-like bronzes’ with diameters of 19.5 to 21mm) with the symbols of Corinthian cults such as a dolphin and Pegasus.¹⁹¹ These designs indicate that Roman policy accepted Greek culture in the relatively early period of Roman colonization.¹⁹²

The evidence of inscriptions and coinage possibly reflects Roman administrative policy rather than the culture of the people. It is thus important to look into the characteristics of the settlers as they may reflect the popular culture more. During the foundation period of Corinth, it was freedpersons who were sent to Corinth to refound the city. Although their purpose was most likely to Romanize the city, they may not have been purely Roman in terms of their ethnicity. When Kent commented in 1966 that most of the earliest settlers appear to have been ‘of Italian stock’,¹⁹³ he did not seem to be taking into account the significance of the freedpersons who returned to their homeland. Thus, he assumed that the population had simply changed from Latin-speaking people to Greek-speaking people.¹⁹⁴ However, A.J.S. Spawforth, who has analyzed the catalogue of *Nomina*, points out that many freedman-colonists from Rome may, in fact, have been ‘Greeks returning home’, and his study

¹⁸⁹ Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, p.11. He refers to M. Amandry, *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens* (BCH Supplement 15; Paris and Athens: Ecole Française d’Athenes, 1988).

¹⁹⁰ Katharine M. Edwards, *Coins, 1896-1929: Corinth*, VI (Cambridge and MA: Harvard University Press [Published for The American School of Classical Studies at Athens], 1933), pp. 4-9; cf. R.S. Dutch, *The Educated Elite in 1 Corinthians: Education and Community Conflict in Graeco-Roman Context*, (JSNTSup, 271; London: T&T Clark, 2005), p. 50.

¹⁹¹ Edwards reports that these ‘tesserae’ are thought to have been used in special occasions such as athletic festivals during the early Roman Period. Edwards, *Coins*, p. 9.

¹⁹² Further evidence of these coins will be discussed in 2.3.

¹⁹³ His point in his argument, however, is that the reason for the dominant Latin inscription is not only because they were of Italian stock, but also because the Roman governors had started to reside in Corinth in 27 BCE. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁴ He assumes that, independently of the official language, the people’s language was first Latin, and as the number of Greek settlers increased, it became bilingual and then mostly Greek. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 18.

supports what has been pointed out by Glen W. Bowersock in 1965.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, A.H.M. Jones, sees this phenomenon of ‘Greeks returning home’ as a reason for the rapid Hellenization in most of the colonies, specifically pointing out the case of Corinth, where most of the colonists were freedpersons. He supposes that the ‘majority of them’ were more familiar with Greek than Latin.¹⁹⁶

This view ties in with the earlier discussion that the city of Rome was in a position where restoring social order was an acute problem.¹⁹⁷ This situation may have been relieved with the enactment of the Augustan legislation at the end of the first century; however, the mid first century BCE was still the time when paramilitary *collegia*, in which freedmen were heavily involved, were active in Rome. More than half of the members of an average *collegium* were freedpersons, and these armed *collegia* were possibly composed primarily of disaffected freedmen who were originally war captives. Therefore, there was a strong need to restore public order. At the same time, as the colonial programme at Corinth required physical labour,¹⁹⁸ it is natural to consider that Romans mobilized these freedmen, especially in Corinth, whether they were ‘patron-less’ or not,¹⁹⁹ to restore the city at the initial stage of colonization. Thus, Treggiari’s comment on ‘drawing off the *sentina urbis* [the dregs of the city] to the colonies’²⁰⁰ seems to be appropriate in the case of Corinth. It is likely that

¹⁹⁵ A.J.S. Spawforth, ‘Roman Corinth: The Formation of a Colonial Elite’, in *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects* (ed. A.D. Rizaki; Meletemata, 21; Athens: Kentron Hellenikes kai Romaikes Archaioytetos, 1996), pp. 167-182 (175); G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 71-72.

¹⁹⁶ A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City From Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 63. It is also important to note that not all the colonists were of Greek origin since there were freedpersons from many regions in Rome at that time: e.g. from Judea, Syria, Egypt, Gaul and Asia Minor. Mark T. Finney, *Honour and Conflict in the Ancient World: 1 Corinthians in its Greco-Roman Social Setting* (London: T&T Clark International, 2012), p. 55.

¹⁹⁷ See 1.1.2-3 for details.

¹⁹⁸ For details of building activities at Corinth, see the study by Donald Engels; a large part of the buildings were repaired, rebuilt or built within a half-century after 44 BCE; D. Engels, *Roman Corinth* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1990) pp. 169-71, Table 11.

Cf. Brunt, ‘Roman Mob’, p. 14. Brunt points out that, during the pre-industrial era, a considerable number of people were required in the building trade, and gives examples from sixteenth-century Rome and eighteenth-century Paris: approximately 6,000 people in Rome worked in the public construction sector, while a third of all wagedworkers in Paris were engaged in the construction trade.

¹⁹⁹ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 52.

²⁰⁰ It was ‘the dregs of the city’, according to her description based on Cicero’s text (*Att.*, 1.19), that were sent to the Caesarean colonies. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 35.

those who were sent to Corinth, whose numbers were in the order of thousands,²⁰¹ were among those rebellious freed slaves. In addition, it may not be a coincidence that Plutarch and Strabo refer to freedmen and soldiers but not to veterans,²⁰² who are commonly thought to have been rewarded with land in the Caesarean colonies. It may well be that this is because the initial stage of the colonial programme in Corinth was primarily the rebuilding of the city, and was not a place suitable to be offered to veterans. The programme may thus have been looked on as a labour camp for rebellious freed slaves; however, it may not necessarily have been perceived so negatively by those who were sent, since many of them are thought to be ‘Greeks returning home’ as noted.²⁰³ This was also advantageous to the Romans in carrying out the programme. Thus, Corinth, a city that had been left desolate for a century after its sacking, was seen as an appropriate place to provide an opportunity to settle the problems of Rome, i.e. the excess population and the social disorder, of the first century BCE.

It is known that municipal offices were exceptionally open to freedmen in colonies such as Corinth and Urso.²⁰⁴ This was possibly because of the large number of freedpersons among the colonists who populated the city.²⁰⁵ Indeed, the freedmen of Julius Caesar and Mark Antony appear in onomastic evidence; for example, C. Julius Nicephorus was a Caesar’s freedman who held the office of *duovir* at least before 30 BCE.²⁰⁶ M. Antonius Theopisilus is known from both numismatic

²⁰¹ Mary E. Hoskins Walbank considers that they were composed of 2,000 to 3,000 of men, and 7,000 to 10,000 in total including women and children; M.E. Hoskins Walbank, ‘The foundation and planning of early Roman Corinth’, *JRA* 10 (1997), pp. 95-130 (105).

²⁰² Strab., 8.6.23 and 17.3.15; Plut., *Caes.*, 47:8.

²⁰³ Spawforth, ‘Roman Corinth’, p. 175; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 71-2.

²⁰⁴ A.M. Duff comments that this was because Julius Caesar had sympathy with the aspiration of freedpersons. A.M. Duff, *Freedmen in the early Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1958), p. 66 n. 3. According to Mouritsen, *Lex Visellia*, which was passed in 24 CE during the reign of Tiberius, is the earliest law that clearly states the prohibition of freedmen becoming municipal officers. However, he also adds that this may have merely been restating a policy or a basic convention that had already existed. Nevertheless, cases for Caesarean colonies have been exceptional. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, pp. 73-5.

²⁰⁵ E.g. Horrell, *Social Ethos*, p. 66.

²⁰⁶ Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 24; Edwards, *Coins*, p. 6; Spawforth, ‘Roman Corinth’, pp. 170, 179 (Cat. No. 15, a-c).

analysis and a literary source;²⁰⁷ he and M. Antonius Orestes were Mark Antony's freedmen who became *duoviri*. In addition, Theophilus' son, M. Antonius Hipparchus, also became *duovir*;²⁰⁸ these men all held their office in the first thirty years of colonization.²⁰⁹

The sources mentioned above allow us to sketch a picture characterized by two types of freedpersons: a handful of freedpersons from great noble Roman families who were sent to administer the city of Corinth, and the rest, a great number of freedpersons who were mobilized to rebuild the city.²¹⁰ In other words, it is most likely that there was a clear division between the two groups, i.e. loyalist and non-loyalist (if not rebelliously anti-Roman), a social structure that was effectively transferred from Rome to Corinth. Thus, as in Rome, there was possibly a strong need for maintaining public order in Corinth. However, although the situation may have been similar, there was another possibility of social policy in Corinth, which could not have been introduced in Rome; this was to utilize Greek elements, i.e. to re-establish the Isthmian Games.

The question regarding the date of the return of the Isthmian Games to Corinth has been discussed by scholars. It is often thought that the return of the Games from Sikyon is at least *after* Strabo's visit to Corinth, which is said to have been between 8 BCE and 3 CE.²¹¹ However, as

²⁰⁷ Plut., *Ant.*, 67.7.

²⁰⁸ Plut., *Ant.*, 73.2.

²⁰⁹ Kent, *Inscriptions*, pp. 24-5; Edwards, *Coins*, p. 5; Spawforth, 'Roman Corinth', p. 170.

²¹⁰ In terms of numbers, there may have been 7,000 to 10,000 colonists in total. Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, 'The Foundation and Planning', p. 105. Romans could have planned and measured out the territory into portions for the colonists of approximately 16,000 people. G.D.R. Sanders, 'Urban Corinth: An Introduction' in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, p. 22.

The following figures may also offer a clue to the numbers of freedpersons sent to Corinth: Appian states that Augustus, following Julius Caesar's decision, sent about 3000 people to Carthage as colonists, although it is known that Appian is incorrect in that it was Julius Caesar who sent these colonists before he was assassinated. See the footnote of The Loeb Classical Library version (trans. White) of App., *Pun.*, 136; Josephus states that, on the order of Vespasian, 6,000 Jews were sent to Corinth in 67 CE for Nero's canal programme. J., *BJ*, 3.540.

²¹¹ It is often understood that the Games were brought back to Corinthian control at the beginning of the first century CE (possibly when L. Castricius Regulus was an *agonothetes*: from 7 BCE to 3 CE). Cf. E.R. Gebhard, 'The Isthmian Games and the Sanctuary of Poseidon in the Early Empire', in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (ed. T.E. Gregory; JRSup, 8, ed.; Ann Arbor, Michigan: Cushing-Malloy, 1993), pp. 78-94 (79); Mika Kajava helpfully summarizes the problem. M. Kajava, 'When Did the Isthmian Games Return to the Isthmus? (Rereading "Corinth" 8.3.153)', *CPh* 97 (2002), pp. 168-178 (168-9).

Gebhard helpfully points out, Strabo's comment,²¹² especially his phrase 'where the Corinthians *used to celebrate*', does not necessarily indicate that the Games had not yet been resumed in Corinth at that point, since he could have been simply describing the place of the Isthmian sanctuary where the celebration used to take place. On the other hand, archaeological evidence from Roman coinage suggests that the Isthmian Games was returned to Corinthian control at a very early stage, some years after 44 BCE.²¹³ It is natural to consider that, for Rome, restarting the Isthmian Games under the control of Rome was a top priority in the re-foundation programme, since it was a politically important enterprise to demonstrate their power to the East. At the same time, rebuilding the city for this purpose was not a mere physical labour, but a task in which they were proud to be involved, especially for the people of Greek origin. Thus, it may be argued that the purpose of resuming the Isthmian Games was possibly two-fold; namely, to demonstrate Roman power across the Mediterranean through the world-renowned Games, and to impose effective control over the people of the lower strata who constantly had a potential for rebellion. Therefore, keeping the Greek element was a crucial policy for Romans in ruling the people, especially of Greek origin, during the early stage, during the rebuilding of the colony.

Stabilization period

Once the city had been rebuilt and its economy had grown and stabilized, the city attracted people from other cities. The Roman governor started to reside in Corinth from 27 BCE and it became a senatorial province,²¹⁴ and many Romans started to settle in Corinth during this period. As they began to constitute a significant part of its social make-up, the interactions between the first immigrants and the incoming people, particularly from Rome, possibly caused some friction, which was an inevitable aspect of life in the reformed colony. An important question to be asked, especially during this period, is whether there was any kind of prejudice against freedpersons in Corinth. Susan

²¹² Strab., 8.6.22.

²¹³ Gebhard, 'The Isthmian Games', p. 79. The motif of the design contains a wreath or an athlete. Cf. K. Edwards, e.g. nos. 21 and 31. Edwards, *Coins*, pp. 17-8, Plates I and II.

²¹⁴ Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 19.

Treggiari points out that freedpersons in Rome preferred Latin names since Greek names indicated their servile origin. Commenting carefully that the prejudice was not necessarily a radical one, she explains that not all of them gave Greek names to the next generation, but parents with Latin names certainly did not give Greek names to their children.²¹⁵ Since the second generation of freedpersons legally became free-born, they were more likely to be integrated into Roman society, and having Roman names certainly did not hinder them in this process. Given that this was the case, people who moved to Corinth at the initial stage of colonization must have felt liberated from this prejudice, since there were clearly fewer Roman people among them than in Rome. The unique inscription that celebrates the self-identity of freedpersons in Corinth (West no. 121) may have been from this period.²¹⁶ It is most likely that the inscription was a part of a monument or a clubhouse which a group of freedpersons proudly built. However, it is natural to consider that the increasing number of non-freedpersons reversed the situation; that is, the social stigma of ex-slaves was gradually brought into Corinth. Thus, as Treggiari points out, people tended to hide the signs of their servile origin as in Rome. Spawforth, in his analysis of the origins of the people in Corinth, points out that twenty-nine out of thirty-seven *cognomina* of *duoviri* are Latin (78%).²¹⁷ Instead of taking this proportion at face value, he considers that there were a significant number of people of Greek origin who had Latin names, for the reason above. To be precise, the available sources are confined to the elites; therefore, it may be difficult to discuss the nature of the populace by this method, but it is safe to assume that, among the elites, there was a prejudice against their servile origin. They certainly would not have established a monument or a house inscribed '*libertini*' during this period.

²¹⁵ She discusses the social stigma of freedpersons in relation to the proportion of the people with slave ancestors in Rome. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 231.

²¹⁶ 'LIBERTI QVI CORINTHI HABITAN[T]', West no. 121. The inscription shows no additional phrase or abbreviation that suggests that this was dedicated by imperial freedmen. West comments that the inscription comes from a small building or a monument. The letter forms suggest an early date; West surmises that it is from the Augustan era, but this cannot be confirmed. A.B. West, *Latin Inscriptions, 1896-1926: Corinth*, VIII, 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press [Published for The American School of Classical Studies at Athens], 1931), p. 95.

²¹⁷ Spawforth, 'Roman Corinth', p. 175. When it comes to the Corinthian names in the New Testament, eight out of seventeen are Latin: Fortunatus (1 Cor. 16.17), Lucius (Rom. 16.21), Tertius (Rom. 16.22), Gaius (Rom. 16.23; 1 Cor. 1.14), Quartus (Rom. 16.23), Aquila and Priscilla (Rom. 16.3; Acts 18.2, 18, 26; 1 Cor. 16.19), and Titus Justus (Acts 18.7).

Integration period

During the time of Claudius and Nero's reign, Greeks from other cities start to appear in the onomastic evidence.²¹⁸ The fact that Greeks from other cities became *agonothetes* (ἄγωνοθέτης) and *duoviri*, which cannot be seen to have occurred in the earlier era,²¹⁹ possibly shows a strong degree of Greek integration into the city of Corinth from around this period.²²⁰ The evidence shows that a freedman, C. Heius Pamphilus, was appointed to *agonothetes* around 7 CE,²²¹ but from the forties of the first century CE onwards, Greeks from other cities, such as Cn. Cornelius Pulcher from an Epidaurian family and C. Iulius Spartiaticus from a Spartan family, became *agonothetes*. Corinth had now become a place where Greeks from other cities could also participate in the Roman *cursus honorum*, and it may well be that *agonothetes*, the administrator of the Isthmian Games and its festival, was a suitable post for them.²²² This suggests that Greek perceptions of the Roman colony had changed; their enmity and suspicion towards Roman rule had gradually disappeared by this time, and noble Greeks thought rather that there was a chance for social advancement in Corinth, which was politically a Roman city. Therefore, it can be argued from the extant evidence that, by the time of Claudius, after eighty-five years of colonization, the Greeks' hostile relationship with Romans,

²¹⁸ Kent, *Inscriptions*, pp. 30-31; Spawforth, 'Roman Corinth', p. 174.

²¹⁹ One possible exception would be the case of C. Iulius Laco, who became *agonothetes* in 39 CE during the reign of Caligula. West offers a detailed discussion regarding Laco's career. West, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 48.

²²⁰ Cn. Cornelius Pulcher was from a well-known Epidaurian family and became *agonothetes* in 43 CE; C. Iulius Laco, whose father Eurycles was from Sparta, became *agonothetes* in 39 CE; C. Iulius Spartiaticus was a son of Laco, who became *agonothetes* in 46/47 CE; C. Iulius Polyaeus, who was likely to be from Sikyon, became *duovir* in 57/58 or 58/59 CE; also, P. Memmius Cleander, whose origin was in Delphi, became *duovir* in 66/67 CE. Since all these Greeks started to hold Roman office after the forties, Spawforth considers that this is the beginning of the integration of the Roman enclave into the Greek world. Spawforth, 'Roman Corinth', pp. 174-5.

²²¹ Kent no. 150; Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 30, pp. 67-8. His cognomen Pamphilus can only be found in slaves and freedmen. The fact that the names of the father and the tribe do not appear in the inscription also suggests that he was a freedman. He later became *duovir* twice.

²²² This phenomenon may be related to the political context of the time. Tacitus explains that because Achaëa and Macedonia protested against the heavy Roman taxation, Tiberius, in 15 CE, placed the two provinces under Moesia and transferred it from a senatorial to an imperial province (Tac., *Ann.*, 1.79). After twenty-nine years, Claudius separated Achaëa and Macedonia from Moesia and made them into senatorial provinces (Suet., *Cl.*, 25.3). This no doubt increased the number of Roman administrators in Corinth, which seems to have created more occasions for Greeks to have contact with Romans, and in effect was a ladder of Roman political advancement in Corinth.

derived from the sack of Corinth, had thawed to a considerable degree.²²³

In summary, the Graeco-Roman cultural setting in Corinth has been discussed in four stages, namely the pre-colonization period and three stages of colonization characterized by rebuilding, stabilization and integration. During the pre-colonization period, it was suggested, the sack of Corinth by the Romans was not complete. Archaeological evidence reveals that there was local activity that continued from 146 to 44 BCE, at least on a smaller scale. Although literary sources suggest its discontinuity, it is likely that it was more or less a set theme for the authors to stress the city's destruction.

After the first settlers arrived in 44 BCE, they built a Roman city on the old Greek city. Many of the buildings were reused and the alignment of the old city was kept. The official language was Latin, at least until the Philhellenism policy introduced by Hadrian. However, the populace were possibly familiar with the Greek language since it is likely that a large proportion of them were Greeks returning home. In addition, designs of the coinage, for example, suggest a strong presence of Greek culture in the colony from the early stage of colonization. Taking into account the fact that, in the mid first century BCE, public order in Rome was poor owing to the large number of mobs including freedmen that were active, it has been argued that the people who were sent to Corinth were possibly among those rebellious freed slaves. The purpose of this colonial programme was to mobilize them as labour for rebuilding the city, and to restore the social order of Rome; on the other hand, the freedpersons must have felt liberated returning to their homeland. It may well be that they celebrated their new status as freedpersons, not in Rome, but in Corinth, where they faced much less social stigma than they did in Rome.

Once the city had been rebuilt and the life of the city had begun to revive, there were influxes of people into the city. In 27 BCE, Corinth became a senatorial province, and Roman governors started to live in the city. A large number of Romans must have settled in Corinth during this period. Consequently, this created a change in the status of freedpersons, in that the mass of freedpersons again had to carry the social stigma of their servile origin more than they had done in the initial period.

²²³ Spawforth, 'Roman Corinth', pp. 174-5.

Thus, peoples' consciousness of Greek culture was a complex one, as they could not fully enjoy their Greek identity until the second century.

Greeks from other cities also began to settle in Corinth, but it appears to be after the forties of the first century CE that they started to play significant roles in the city. In Claudius and Nero's time, it is likely that the Greek perception of the Roman colony changed; that is, Greeks from other cities started to run for Roman offices, including *agonothetes*, which administered the Isthmian Games. Thus, the Isthmian cult played a distinctive role within the colony, not only in that the Games and its festival attracted the populace, but also in the sense that it offered Greeks an additional chance to obtain one of the significant Roman posts to which they could aspire. Thus, within eighty-five years of the colony's refoundation in Corinth, the enmity and suspicion of the Greeks seem to have thawed. Greeks from other cities started to participate in the *cursus honorum*, and it is important to note that this social atmosphere was present when Paul visited Corinth.

Finally, locating Corinth alongside other Roman colonies may help us clarify the relationship between Romans and Greeks in Corinth, since Roman policy differed in many of the colonies. To provide an extensive comparative analysis of this issue would be beyond the scope of this study, but a general sketch will help us highlight the specific situation in Corinth. Peter Oakes, who compares Corinth with Pompeii, Philippi and Thessalonica, comments: 'Unlike Pompeii, where the populace in general became indistinguishably Roman soon after colonization, or Philippi, where colonial government was kept firmly in Roman hands, Corinth witnessed a more complex interaction of Roman and Greek culture and identity.'²²⁴ What is certain from his comparison, and from the above discussion, is that the cultural situation in Corinth was not clear-cut; it was not completely Roman nor Greek, but there was a complex interaction between the Romans and Greeks according to the situation of each stage mentioned above. Furthermore, Joseph H. Hellerman looks into the difference between elite and non-elite circles in Philippi and emphasizes that people highly esteemed *cursus honorum*,²²⁵

²²⁴ Oakes, 'Contours of the Urban Environment', pp. 21-35 (34).

²²⁵ Joseph H. Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series, 132; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 34-63.

which could be achieved by being chosen for public office.²²⁶ For example, from studying the inscriptions, he observes that the elites sought the honour of municipal posts, military ranks and the various decorations they earned. However, the non-elites yearned for status by association; slaves and freedpersons were proud of their connection with their owners and patrons. It is considered that the rigid policy in Philippi strongly influenced people's awareness of status.²²⁷

The situation in Corinth was however different from that of Philippi; in Corinth, there is clear evidence that freedpersons became municipal officers; there were freedmen of Mark Antony and Julius Caesar as well as other types of freedmen who achieved Roman offices. For one example, Babbius Philinus was a freedman who donated many buildings around the city during the reign of Tiberius. Although he lacked filiation and tribal connection, his wealth was considerable, so that, as a consequence of his generous donations, he was elected to the office of *duoviri*, the chief magistrate.²²⁸ Indeed, not all the freedpersons had the opportunity of social advancement, but the economic growth helped people to gain wealth, and people were more conscious of the possibility of social advancement. Hence, it was important for the Romans to introduce ways of ruling the people in Corinth other than by imposing a rigid policy. The task of establishing Roman mores among the people and infusing the people with a sense of 'Roman honour'²²⁹ was to be carried out by a different means from that employed in Philippi, where a sense of 'Roman honour' was the predominant view

²²⁶ Jo-Ann Shelton elaborates on this concept: 'Today also one would not run for president without first having held some lower offices. We speak of "running for office". The Latin phrase for political career is *cursus honorum*, "the race or course of honors".' J. Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998[1988]), p. 208, n. 34.

²²⁷ The imposition of Roman ideology can be imagined more clearly if we take into account the fact that approximately 60% of the population were Greek (Greek-speakers) during the first century CE. Hellerman refers to P. Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 50 (Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor*, p. 71, n. 36). Furthermore, Oakes states: 'Imperial ideology was all around: on coins, in statues, in processions, games and feasts, in pictures and in inscriptions.' Oakes, *Philippians*, p. 174.

²²⁸ Kent no. 155. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 73, 100. Kent surmises that Babbius Philinus gained his wealth through commercial activities. West no. 132. West, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 107-8.

²²⁹ The distinctive character of Roman honour was 'honor for *the nation*, the Roman people and the empire'. Moxnes refers to P.A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 288-323. Halvor Moxnes, 'Honor and Shame', in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. Richard L. Rohrbaugh; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), p. 36. (Moxnes' italics).

among the people.²³⁰ To be sure, from a political point of view, Corinth may have been, as Winter states, ‘not a Greek city with a Roman facade. It was conceived of, and deliberately laid out, as a thoroughly Roman colony.’²³¹ The official language was Latin and Roman settlers created a ‘mini-Rome’.²³² However, the evidence shows that the elements of Greek culture were always present, and Romans seem to have accepted the Greek elements and utilized them for social control of the city where the complex dynamics between Roman and Greeks took place.

2.2 Freedpersons and the economy of Corinth

In the previous section, the society of Corinth was explored from the perspective of the cultural frame. It was shown that Greek-Roman relationships differed in the colonization periods of rebuilding, stabilization and integration, and freedpersons were greatly involved in the unique Greek-Roman dynamics of each stage. Having in mind the picture of the city’s development, this section aims to investigate further from the economic point of view. The economic situation of freedpersons as well as their contribution to the city’s development will be the focus of this section.

First, before exploring the local situation of Corinth, it is important to have a general understanding of the economic situation in the first-century Mediterranean world. This will not only provide a basic view of the ancient economy, but also enable us to highlight the distinctiveness of the economic situation in Corinth. Questions such as the extent to which people possessed a surplus will be surveyed by referring to the views of recent New Testament scholars and historians of antiquity. After investigating some of the key views of the economic situation of the Mediterranean world, the study will next turn to the unique context of Roman Corinth that brought wealth to the city, and this

²³⁰ It is generally thought that Acts 16:16-40 reflects this view. It is also important to bear in mind that the situation in Philippi was different from Pompeii, where people became indistinguishably Roman. Oakes discusses this in detail; he argues that the number of veterans was of the order of one hundred, and the majority of the population of the town were not Roman citizens. Oakes, *Philippians*, pp. 2, 40-50, 54.

²³¹ Bruce W. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), p. 11.

²³² According to James Walters, a ‘mini-Rome’ is guaranteed by a Roman population who shared the values and tastes of Roman citizens. James Walters, ‘Civic Identity in Roman Corinth and Its Impact on Early Christians’, in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, pp. 397-417 (402).

will be explained in relation to freedpersons in the colony. The ways in which they played vital roles in the economic growth in Corinth will be discussed.

2.2.1 Ancient economy of the Graeco-Roman world

A key debate among New Testament scholars in recent years is that between Gerd Theissen and Justin Meggitt.²³³ Meggitt challenges the existence of an economic middle group,²³⁴ the view represented by Theissen and Wayne Meeks, and widely accepted among New Testament scholars. Meggitt claims that the majority of the people in the first-century Mediterranean world were suffering from destitution and indigence, and were exploited by a small number (1%) of elites. This claim is seen as returning to older views such as that of Deissman in the early twentieth century,²³⁵ as some reviews point out.²³⁶ Following Meggitt's rather dichotomous view, Steven J. Friesen's study offers a detailed scale of poverty, with seven categories, for a large city in the Roman Empire.²³⁷ According to his observation, the proportion with 'moderate surplus resources (PS4)' (between elites and people of near subsistence level) is 7% of the population. Bruce Longenecker, on the other hand, argues that it needs to be raised to 17%.²³⁸ In the course of this debate, it has become clear that there are some

²³³ For example, J.J. Meggitt, *Paul, Poverty and Survival* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998); G. Theissen, 'The Social Structure of Pauline Communities: Some Critical Remarks on J.J. Meggitt, Paul, Poverty and Survival', *JSNT* 84 (2001), pp. 65-84; J.J. Meggitt, 'Response to Martin and Theissen', *JSNT* 84 (2001), pp. 85-94; G. Theissen, 'Social Conflicts in the Corinthian Community: Further Remarks on J.J. Meggitt, Paul, Poverty and Survival', *JSNT* 25.3 (2003), pp. 371-391.

²³⁴ The phrase 'economic middle group' will be employed in this thesis in order to define a group of people whose economic level is in between elites and people of near subsistence level.

²³⁵ A. Deissmann, *Das Urchristentum und die unteren Schichten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1908).

²³⁶ For example, D.B. Martin, 'Review Essay: Justin J. Meggitt, Paul, Poverty and Survival', *JSNT* 84 (2001), pp. 51-64. Gerd Theissen also refutes Meggitt's so-called 'New Consensus' by reviewing the history of research. G. Theissen, 'The Social Structure of Pauline Communities: Some Critical Remarks on J.J. Meggitt, Paul, Poverty and Survival', *JSNT* 84 (2001), pp. 65-84 (66-8).

²³⁷ S.J. Friesen, 'Poverty in Pauline Studies: Beyond the So-called New Consensus', *JSNT* 26 (2004), pp. 323-61; S.J. Friesen, 'Injustice or God's Will: Explanations of Poverty in Proto-Christian Communities', in *Christian Origins* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; A People's History of Christianity, 1; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), pp. 240-60; S.J. Friesen, 'Injustice or God's Will? Early Christian Explanations of Poverty' in *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society* (ed. Susan R. Holman; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), pp. 17-36.

²³⁸ Friesen, 'Early Christian Explanations of Poverty', p. 20; B.W. Longenecker, 'Exposing the Economic Middle: A Revised Economy Scale for the Study of Early Urban Christianity', *JSNT* 31.3 (2009), pp. 243-278 (263).

difficulties in using biblical texts in terms of methodology, since criteria for evaluating biblical characters seem to be rather difficult to assess.²³⁹ The approach of looking into Graeco-Roman literature also has a difficulty in that the terminology of the economic scale is relative; the meaning of ‘the poor’ or related terms depends on their context.²⁴⁰ However, as Longenecker points out,²⁴¹ more fundamentally, the different views of the New Testament scholars are possibly attributed to Graeco-Roman historians’ and archaeologists’ views of the ancient Roman economy.

Classical historian, Moses Finley, summarizes four variables of the economic capacity of ancient cities: (1) agricultural production, (2) presence or absence of special resources (metals, wines or oil-bearing plants), (3) invisible exports of trade and tourism, and (4) landowners’ rents, taxes and tributes.²⁴² Thus the economy of ancient cities, including Corinth, can be analysed according to these categories. However, it is important to note that Finley does not include the category of manufacturing as an economic factor. After listing these four elements, Finley states that ‘the contribution of manufacture was negligible’.²⁴³ He considers that technology was primitive and had no significance. Recently, Finley’s view has been challenged; it seems that the trend among many archaeologists is to oppose this view. For example, in 2000, Kevin Greene stressed the technological innovation and economic progress in antiquity, and stated that Finley dismissed archaeological

²³⁹ Theissen states: ‘Meggitt is right when he states that all the individual criteria for a rather elevated social status are ambiguous.’ Theissen, ‘Social Structure’, p. 75.

²⁴⁰ Appian appears to identify freedpersons with ‘the poor (ἀπορία)’. Appian writes of Caesar sending freedpersons to Corinth: ‘Returning to Rome not long after, and the poor asking him for land, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth’ (*History* 8:136). However, as O’Connor rightly points out, when ἀπορία is used for persons, it can also mean ‘hard to deal with, impracticable, unmanageable’ (Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, *St. Paul’s Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* (GNS 6; Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1983), p. 120; Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (8th edn; Oxford: Clarendon Press 1897), p. 195). In addition, even if Appian used the word to mean ‘without resources’ (Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 195; *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature* (BDAG; 3rd edn, 2000), p. 119), it needs to be read carefully since authors of Graeco-Roman literature often call all the poorer people ‘the poor’ indiscriminately. Neville Morley explains that their language reflects an elites’ world-view that distinguishes them from the non-elites in a stereotyped manner. Neville Morley, ‘The poor in the city of Rome’, in *Poverty in the Roman World* (eds. Margaret Atkins and Robin Osborne; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 25-30; cf. Longenecker, ‘Exposing’, p. 248.

²⁴¹ Longenecker, ‘Exposing’, pp. 254-259.

²⁴² M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (2nd edn; London: The Hogarth Press, 1985[1973]), p. 139.

²⁴³ Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, p. 139.

evidence and that his view on the ancient economy was misleading.²⁴⁴ Andrew Wilson, in 2002, also commented that Finley's studies had been so influential that they discouraged later researchers, and added that the view that there was little economic progress needed to be reconsidered.²⁴⁵ These studies questioned 'Finley's orthodoxy',²⁴⁶ and demonstrated the importance of exploring the economic abilities of non-agricultural production, especially of manufacturing. The study will now turn to investigate the characteristics of the Corinthian economy.

2.2.2 Economic characteristics of Corinth

When we consider the situation in Corinth, two unique characteristics of the city's past can be pointed out. Ancient Corinth was well known for its Isthmian Games. Thus, during the colonization period, Romans naturally utilized the world-renowned games to demonstrate their power to surrounding regions. The list of the victors clearly shows that it attracted participants from across the Mediterranean world.²⁴⁷ Corinth was also well known for its crafts, such as Corinthian bronze. In the archaic period, it is said, artisans in Corinth were proud of their occupations, and there was less social stigma towards artisans than in other Greek cities.²⁴⁸ Corinthian bronze was even favoured among the Roman connoisseurs. The fact that products can be found from the Roman period, as stated in the previous section, suggests that the tradition was continued.²⁴⁹ Thus, it is legitimate to explore the two areas, namely tourism and manufacturing, which are the third and the fifth variables in Finley's useful

²⁴⁴ K. Greene, 'Technological innovation and economic progress in the ancient world: M. I. Finley re-considered', *Economic History Review* LIII, 1 (2000), pp. 29-59 (29).

²⁴⁵ A. Wilson, 'Machines, Power and the Ancient Economy', *JRS* 92 (2002), pp. 1-32 (1-2). For one example of technological innovation, recent studies have shown developments in the construction industry such as standardization of the materials of bricks and mortar. J. DeLaine, 'Bricks and mortar: exploring the economics of building techniques at Rome and Ostia', in *Economies Beyond Agriculture in the Classical World* (eds. D.J. Mattingly and J. Salmon; London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 230-268.

²⁴⁶ Longenecker calls this view 'Finley's orthodoxy'; Longenecker, *Exposing*, p. 254.

²⁴⁷ Meritt nos. 14-16; B.D. Benjamin Dean Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions 1896-1927: Corinth*, VIII, 1 (Cambridge and MA: Harvard University Press [Published for The American School of Classical Studies of Athens], 1931), p. 24. For example, in 3 CE, the victors of three boxing contests were Alexandrians.

²⁴⁸ J.B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: a history of the city to 338 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon 1984), p.163. Cf. Hdt., ii. 167.2: 'It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt' (trans. A.D. Godley; LCL).

²⁴⁹ See the discussion in 2.1.1.

categories,²⁵⁰ in order to investigate their economic abilities. This might help to elucidate the question as to whether an economic middle group existed. It is true that Romans generally controlled the economy rigidly to keep the economic divide between the elites and the populace.²⁵¹ However, it is worth investigating whether the local situation allowed opportunities for individuals to attain personal wealth. The place of freedpersons in the economic situation will also be discussed.

Manufacturing

Donald Engels confirms that agricultural production alone would not be sufficient to support the Corinthian economy. His calculation reveals that the land of Corinth and its periphery was capable of yielding products for 10,000 people at the maximum.²⁵² Assuming the urban population to be 80,000 (or even less),²⁵³ it is improbable that the agricultural production for 10,000 people, whether directly or indirectly, could support the rest of the population unless there were other means of production. It can be deduced thus from this quantitative study that there were other means of production in Corinth.

Engels considers that, although records of the majority have not survived, many residents in Corinth worked in manufacturing.²⁵⁴ This is because manufacturing required processing of materials that usually came from many regions, and they were easily collected in Corinth because of its ideal location with two harbours. The evidence that has survived points to lamp and pottery manufacture, work in bronze, and marble sculptures.²⁵⁵ Among these, bronze manufacture deserves a special

²⁵⁰ However, Finley does not count the fifth factor of manufacturing as a variable of economic ability, as stated.

²⁵¹ Friesen, *Wealth and Poverty*, pp. 18-19. Garnsey and Saller conclude their chapter 'The Social Hierarchy' by emphasizing the notion of the 'Roman system of inequality'; P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1990[1987]).

²⁵² This estimation was calculated carefully by taking into account the surplus products for maintenance, the geographical factor, and the rural farmers' mobility to the city.

²⁵³ The urban population is estimated at 80,000; Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 84.

²⁵⁴ Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 33.

²⁵⁵ E.g. for lamps and pottery, O. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps: Corinth IV*, 2 (Cambridge and MA: Harvard University Press [Published for The American School of Classical Studies of Athens], 1930), pp. 70-121; for Corinthian bronze, E.G. Pemberton, 'The Attribution of Corinthian Bronze', *Hesperia* 50 (1981), pp. 101-11; for marble sculpture, B.S. Ridgeway, 'Sculpture from Corinth', *Hesperia* 50 (1981), pp. 422-48; cf. Engels, *Roman Corinth*, pp. 33-37.

mention as it is said that ‘Corinthian Bronze’ was highly esteemed by Roman connoisseurs. The Corinthians produced high-tin bronze that had a distinctive hardness and colour which required a special process.²⁵⁶ The water was possibly piped to the foundry from the fountain located about one mile away, which suggests the scale of the production was large. This kind of production is one example among many of the fact that labour was highly specialized.

Plutarch’s statement in *Pericles* (12.6-7) concerning the workers in Athens demonstrates how labour was specialized in first-century Greece. He lists nearly thirty kinds of workers related to building programmes, such as architects, contractors, engineers, and specialized workmen.²⁵⁷ The division of labour of this kind also occurred in manufacturing. Ramsay MacMullen, although he is careful not to overemphasize this phenomenon, points out the ‘atomization’ by referring to examples such as the evidence of the manufacture of slippers by more than 300 people in Rome, and of dealings in iron by over 300 traders in Noricum.²⁵⁸ In addition, Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* (8.2.5) reveals the difference between labour in a small town and in a large city:

In small towns the same man makes couches, doors, ploughs and tables, and often he even builds houses. ... In large cities, however, because many make demands on each trade ... for instance one man makes shoes for men, another for women, there are places even where one man earns a living just by mending shoes, another by cutting them out, another just by sewing the uppers together, while there is another who performs none of these operations but assembles the parts. Of necessity he who pursues a very specialized task will do it best.

It is noteworthy to refer to Finley’s comment here: ‘This is the most important ancient text on division of labour.’²⁵⁹ It is highly likely that the situation of labour in Corinth was similar. Considering the fact that the sectors of artisans and commerce were in effect monopolized by freedpersons in Roman society, as discussed in Chapter 1, it is most likely that this was particularly the case in Corinth. The Augustan colonial programme that sent freedpersons to Corinth, of whom a large number were

²⁵⁶ Engels, *Roman Corinth*, pp. 36-37.

²⁵⁷ Plutarch’s list includes smiths, carpenters, moulders, founders, braziers, stonecutters, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory workers, painters, embroiderers, turners, merchants, mariners, shipmasters, cartwrights, cattle-breeders, waggoners, leather-dressers, road makers, flax workers, shoemakers, rope makers, and miners.

²⁵⁸ MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, p. 184, n. 2, and p. 188, n. 24.

²⁵⁹ Finley, *Ancient Economy*, p. 135.

Greeks returning home,²⁶⁰ and the historical Corinthian tradition of manufacturing²⁶¹ worked in favour of freedpersons seeking to gain wealth in Corinth.

Professional associations

As the population of the city increased, a number of guilds might have been created during the re-foundation period through practical professional connections. It is generally thought that voluntary associations, whether they are religious or professional, grow in order to meet the needs which political institutions and kinship fail to provide,²⁶² and Corinth, the city that experienced a break in the traditional life of its society, was not an exception. People sought a place for personal affirmation by a larger whole and a sense of belonging in a community.²⁶³ Just as in other cities and villages, they might have given their guilds names such as ‘The Bakers’, ‘The Poulterers’, and ‘The Crafts-Fellowship of ...’.²⁶⁴ As it is said that more than 60% of the members of professional *collegia* in Rome and Italy were freedpersons, as was discussed in section 1.1.2,²⁶⁵ it can be conjectured that their percentage was much higher in *collegia* in Corinth. The places for crafts and trades were usually clustered close together and the streets and squares were named after them,²⁶⁶ and these were the areas where one might have seen freedpersons working actively in everyday life. It is worth

²⁶⁰ See 2.1.2 for details.

²⁶¹ E.g. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, pp. 162-3.

²⁶² E.g. John S. Kloppenborg, ‘Collegia and *Thiasoi*: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership’, in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (eds. S.G. Wilson and J.S. Kloppenborg; London: Routledge, 1996), p. 18. Sandra Walker-Ramisch also accepts this sociological concept (S. Walker-Ramisch, ‘Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations and the Damascus Document: A Sociological Analysis’ in *Voluntary Associations*, p. 132); however, S.G. Wilson, in the ‘overview’ of the same book, seems to disagree with the idea that fictive police and fictive kinship emerge in order to compensate for the conventional system (S.G. Wilson, ‘Voluntary Associations: An Overview’, in *Voluntary Associations*, pp. 13-4).

²⁶³ It may well be that this atmosphere was the reason for Paul’s mission in Corinth being, if not ideal, more active than his time in Athens.

²⁶⁴ MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, p. 74.

²⁶⁵ U. Fellmeth, ‘Politisches Bewusstsein der städtischen Volksmassen in Rom und Italien zur Zeit der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit’, *Eirene* 27 (1990), pp. 49-71 (53).

²⁶⁶ MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, p. 74.

mentioning that the location of the inscription that reads [ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΕΒΡΑΙΩΝ]²⁶⁷ in Corinth was found in the area of markets and workshops,²⁶⁸ which may suggest the social level of the Jews in Corinth,²⁶⁹ as well as their strong associations with freedpersons. Some other general characteristics of *collegia* in antiquity are also worth noting; for example, convivial gathering was an important part of every club's activity, but it tended to be that their habit of excessive drinking was a common problem in cities.²⁷⁰ Another unique characteristic of *collegia* is that, whether professional or religious, they sought honour rather than economic interest.²⁷¹ Thus, the local nobles were chosen as their patrons since social recognition was important for the *collegium*. Therefore, patrons did not necessarily have to be involved in their activity insofar as they would provide benefactions to and gain honour from the members of the *collegium*. For the patron this publicity was important for the *cursus honorum*. In this manner, *collegia* functioned as a nexus which connected the elite and the people of lower social strata in society.²⁷² Finally, it is possibly true that all *collegia* in the empire were constantly policed so that they would not become the seedbed of revolutionary activity. The degree of control might have differed in each colony, but once suspicion arose, the right of the *collegium* or all the *collegia* in society to assemble was restricted.²⁷³ These points may be relevant in understanding the social aspect of the Corinthian Christ-movement.

²⁶⁷ Meritt no. 111; Meritt states that the letter forms indicate a much later period than Paul's time, but that it is possible to assume that the synagogue's place has remained the same throughout the period. Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 78-79.

²⁶⁸ A. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), p. 75. However, Koester considers that the evidence cannot be direct evidence since it is from the later period. Helmut Koester, 'The Silence of the Apostle', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, pp. 339-349 (340); Meeks does not deny the possibility that the inscription was brought to the area from other place. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, pp. 48-9.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Acts 18.1-17.

²⁷⁰ For example, Philo states the situation in Alexandria: he emphasizes how one should celebrate Passover by comparing it with the feast outside the Jewish community, and admonishes that the gatherings 'are not as in other festive gatherings to indulge the belly with wine and viands, but to fulfil with prayers and hymns the custom handed down by their fathers'. (Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 2.148)

²⁷¹ MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, p. 76.

²⁷² Kloppenborg, 'Collegia and *Thiasoi*', p. 27.

²⁷³ E.g. *Lex collegii Lanuvium*. See Kloppenborg, 'Collegia and *Thiasoi*', p. 20; J., *Ant.* 14.213-16. It is noteworthy that Jews were exempt from the restriction in this case.

Services for non-residents

After the nature of manufacturing and the guilds, another type of occupation to be explored in Corinth is the services offered to non-residents, which are considered to be one of the foundations of Corinth's economy. The main event that attracted tourists was the Isthmian Games, one of the most famous festivals in Greece, which took place biennially. In addition to the Isthmian Games, the Caesarean Games was instituted possibly in the year 30 BCE.²⁷⁴ They were international contests, and inscriptions of the victors reveal that participants were from the central and eastern Mediterranean.²⁷⁵ The records also show that the majority of the victors in contests that involved horse races were Corinthians,²⁷⁶ which indicates how Corinthians passionately participated in the Games. The competitions included not only athletic but also musical and literary contests, which brought many kinds of contestants and spectators into the city. This of course required high personal mobility. In this regard, evidence is also apparent from the biblical text. For example, nine out of seventeen people who were members of the Corinthian church were travellers.²⁷⁷ This confirms that the people were able to travel relatively freely if they were financially capable.

From the time of Tiberius, the 'Imperial Contests' was also held every four years, possibly in order to strengthen the Imperial cult.²⁷⁸ Because these games took place during the summer months, the numbers of temporary workers increased, for example in response to demands for producing rope and tents for lodging.²⁷⁹ Although it is difficult to estimate the numbers of the travellers, the size of the facilities may suggest a high population. The old Greek theatre which was restored by the Romans

²⁷⁴ The Isthmian Games and the Caesarean Games were simultaneously held in the years 30, 26, 22 BCE, and the Isthmian Games alone was held in the 28, 24 BCE, and so on. For convenience, they are designated as the 'Greater Isthmia' and the 'Lesser Isthmia' respectively. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 28.

²⁷⁵ Meritt nos. 14-16. Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 14-25.

²⁷⁶ Meritt no. 15. Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 21.

²⁷⁷ G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* (ed. and trans. J.H. Schütz; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1982), pp. 91-92. Theissen counts Chloe's family as one in this estimation. In addition, some of the members are thought to be freedpersons, such as Achaicus (1 Cor. 16:17). Wayne Meeks goes further to suppose the possibility that Achaicus might have been an example of 'Greeks returning home', since it is very unlikely for a resident to have received the geographical nickname. W.A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 56.

²⁷⁸ The 'Imperial Contests' was added to the 'Greater Isthmia'. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 28.

²⁷⁹ Paul, Aquila and Priscilla may have been tentmakers for this purpose.

is estimated to have had a capacity for about 15,000 spectators.²⁸⁰ Furthermore, it may not be inappropriate to form an estimate of the population who worked to provide the services for non-residents from this data. For example, assuming that a third to a half of the spectators (including the participants) were travellers, and that the number of those who worked to provide the services was approximately the same as that of the travellers, the population involved in the services for travellers is estimated to be about 5 to 9 % of the urban population.²⁸¹ Travellers generally required lodging, services for food, taverns, religious services, and financial services such as banking, among other kinds of services.²⁸²

In addition, their economic effect may be indicated in the building activities. Evidence reveals that nearly thirty buildings were built or rebuilt within a century after 44 BCE, which is calculated to be about 48% of the buildings that are known from this period.²⁸³ The fact that nearly half of the building activity was carried out during this period also reflects the rapid economic growth. The contribution of the first settlers to these building activities must have been considerable. Archaeological evidence in Corinth also reveals that a variety of house sizes and types existed,²⁸⁴ which suggests a gradation of people's wealth. It is natural to consider that freedpersons were no exceptions; their wealth differed to some extent according to their occupation and their patrons' business. Although it may be difficult to define their wealth quantitatively, the spectrum of freedpersons' wealth must have expanded during the re-foundation of the city through the occupations mentioned above.

²⁸⁰ Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 47.

²⁸¹ Presumably more people were involved in some kind of work for non-residents. However, it is felt that more evidence is required to calculate the actual number of travellers.

The urban population is estimated to be 80,000. Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 84.

²⁸² There were services such as guides and insurance. Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 57.

²⁸³ The percentage is calculated from Engels' table; Engels, *Roman Corinth*, pp. 169-170, Table 11.

²⁸⁴ D. Jongkind, 'Corinth in the First Century AD: The Search for Another Class', *TynBul* 52.1 (2001), pp. 139-148.

Prominent freedpersons

It may be relevant here to refer to the social and administrative structures in the Roman Empire. The ruling elite, who were possibly the top one per cent of the social pyramid, consisted of three main *ordines*: *ordo senatorius* (senatorial order), *ordo equester* (equestrian order), and *ordines decurionum* (decurions). The decurions' role was to administer the civic communities: in Corinth, there were two chief magistrates, *duoviri*, and, immediately below them, two *aediles* to support the *duoviri*.²⁸⁵ Once elected as *duoviri* or *aediles*, they were eligible to be appointed as members of the decurion class.²⁸⁶ Normally, there was a restriction that freedmen could not hold these municipal offices, but it is noteworthy that this rule was not applied in Corinth (or in Urso in Spain). Arnold Mackay Duff comments that this is because Julius Caesar had sympathy with the aspiration of freedpersons.²⁸⁷ However, on a practical level, it is politically reasonable to suppose that this was related to the population of the freedpersons in Corinth, as Horrell explains; this is 'perhaps because of the recent refounding of the city and the large number of manumitted slaves among the colonists who populated it'.²⁸⁸ There are notable studies of inscriptions related to Erastus and Babbuius Philinus. It is said that Erastus was a freedman who was elected as an *aedile* of the Colony,²⁸⁹ while Babbuius Philinus is

²⁸⁵ In general, the highest local honour that could be obtained in the Roman colonies was the office of *duovir quinquennalis*. However, in Corinth, the office of *agonothetes* was esteemed higher than that of *duovir* because of its international character. Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 97.

²⁸⁶ Engels, *Roman Corinth*, pp. 17-18; Horrell, *Social Ethos*, p. 66.

²⁸⁷ Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 66 n. 3.

²⁸⁸ Horrell, *Social Ethos*, p. 66; cf. Mouritsen, *Freedman in The Roman World*, pp. 74-5.

²⁸⁹ For Babbuius Philinus: Kent nos. 155, 241, 259: Kent, *Inscriptions*, pp. 21, 25, 27, 133; for Erastus: Kent no. 232: Kent, *Inscriptions*, pp. 99-100. Kent identifies this figure with the Erastus in Rom. 16.23. Chow introduces the studies by Bagdikian, who considers that his contribution to the pavement outside the theatre possibly made him an *aedile* (Chow, *Patronage and Power*, p. 59). On the debate over Erastus see Theissen, *Social Setting*, pp. 76-79, 81. Justin Meggitt, 'The Social Status of Erastus (Ro. 16:23)' *NovT* 38.3 (1996), pp. 218-223. Justin Meggitt, *Paul, Poverty and Survival* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1998), pp. 135-141. Andrew D. Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 1-6*. (Leiden: BRILL, 1993), pp. 49-55. Andrew D. Clarke, 'Another Corinthian Erastus Inscription' *TynBul* 42 (1991), pp. 146-151. The main foci of the debate are: the dating of the inscription, the social meaning of ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως (Rom. 16:23) as *aedile*, and the rarity of the name Erastus. On the recent debate over Erastus: Friesen considers that they are two different figures (S.J. Friesen, 'The Wrong Erastus: Ideology, Archaeology, and Exegesis', in *Corinth in Context*, pp. 231-256). John K. Goodrich critiques Friesen's view. J.K. Goodrich, 'Erastus of Corinth (Romans 16.23): Responding to Recent Proposals on his Rank, Status, and Faith', *NTS* 57 (2011), pp. 583-93. John K. Goodrich 'Erastus, Quaestor of Corinth: The Administrative Rank of οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως (Rom 16.23) in an Achaean Colony' *NTS* 56 (2010), pp. 90-115.

thought to have been a wealthy freedman who donated many buildings around the city in the first half of the first century CE, and, as a consequence of his generous donations, was elected not only to the *aedile* but also the office of *duovir*.²⁹⁰ In both cases, their wealth had brought them achievement of power.

The descendants of freedpersons played an important role in the society. One of the key reasons was that sons of freedpersons, if they were born after their fathers' manumission, became *ingenui* (freeborn), and had no stigma as the freedpersons did. Through them, a large proportion of freedpersons had succeeded in obtaining high status in society.²⁹¹ As the above evidence shows, many freedpersons and their sons in the first century had achieved wealth and power despite the fact that there was social prejudice against freedpersons in Roman society.

In summary, the scholarly view of the ancient economy in the Mediterranean world has been surveyed, and it has been shown that the key to understanding the situation in a city such as Corinth is to explore the economic capacity of manufacturing and tourism. The conventional view of the historians of antiquity was that it is difficult to assume economic progress in the ancient world since the technological level was primitive; thus, the ancient cities' economic ability largely depended on factors such as agriculture and natural resources. This would naturally suggest that there was little possibility of individuals attaining economic surplus. However, in the case of Corinth, it has been suggested by scholars such as Engels that agricultural production alone would not be sufficient to sustain the economy; his calculation shows that there must have been other means to support the population of Corinth. This would tie in with the fact that the archaeological evidence shows manufacturing such as lamps, pottery and bronze products took place in Corinth during the Roman period. Considering the fact that a large proportion of the members of professional *collegia* in Rome

²⁹⁰ Chow, *Patronage and Power*, pp. 59-60. L.M. White also comments: 'As to date, the letter forms [of the inscription] point to sometime between 25 and 50 C.E., while the usual dating for Babbuius Philinus (following Kent) would place him in the Augustan to early Tiberian period.' L. Michael White, 'Favorinus's "Corinthian Oration": A Piqued Panorama of the Hadrianic Forum', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, pp. 61-110 (82).

²⁹¹ Finley states that a high percentage of the municipal senates were the sons of freedpersons, although he critiques Gordon's loose tests of epitaphs of Italy that concluded that 33% of the municipal senates in a city like Ostia were descendants of freedpersons during the Empire. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, p. 77. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, 13.27.

and Italy were freedpersons, it is natural to consider that this was more so in Corinth; freedpersons were actively involved in crafts and trade and formed their professional *collegia*. They not only sustained the economy but also brought wealth to the city. Furthermore, the city attracted more people from across the Mediterranean as the Isthmian Games were resumed, and the Caesarean Games and the Imperial Contests were started. These activities consequently created more jobs in services for non-residents in the city. Thus, the economic impact of tourism was considerable, in that it contributed greatly to the economic growth of the new Roman colony. Finally, there were freedmen who held Roman offices of *duoviri* and *aedile*. The archaeological evidence, such as the monuments and buildings, suggests that these freedmen were elected for their contribution to the city, which clearly demonstrates their level of wealth.²⁹² As stated above, Roman Corinth had unique factors, with high economic ability that created more opportunities for people, especially freedpersons, to attain individual wealth than the other cities in the Mediterranean world.

2.3 Freedpersons and religious life in Corinth

Recent New Testament scholars have paid much attention to the question: ‘To what extent did Roman power have significance in Paul’s context?’²⁹³ A challenge has also been made by historians; Simon Price writes that ‘the context in which Paul should be set is not that of Rome, but of local communities’. His suggestions are based on the view that the Roman historians, in the past, had been Rome-centred and were interested in Rome’s administration which flowed to the provinces in the East and West. However, he explains that the new consensus is that ‘the Empire was not simply a structure imposed by Rome, but resulted from a series of ongoing choices and negotiations between subjects and ruler’.²⁹⁴ When we turn to the local situation in Corinth, it is clear that the influence of the Roman imperial cult was immense, but its relationship to the traditions of the Greek cult also needs to

²⁹² Kent conjectures that these freedmen attained wealth through commercial activities. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 100.

²⁹³ For example, the Paul and Politics Group at the SBL Annual Meeting 2000. Also, there was much debate between Tom Wright and John Barclay in the session on Pauline Epistles, Paul and Empire in the SBL Annual Meeting 2007.

²⁹⁴ S. Price, ‘Response’, in *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order* (ed. R. Horsley; London: Trinity Press International, 2004), p. 176.

be nuanced. Given that there were people of Greek origin who kept their culture, their religious lives must also have been affected greatly by Roman power.

In this section, the Roman imperial rule over Greek cults will be explored to see if there was any distinctive Roman policy in Corinth. The study will first focus on the Roman imperial cult in the provinces. It aims to discuss how Romans saw their subject people, and the means by which they conveyed their imperial power. This will be explored by looking into archaeological evidence along with the views of ancient Roman authors. After having surveyed some of the general Roman colonial views toward their subjects, the study will next investigate evidence of traditional Greek cults in Corinth. It is known that the Romans resurrected the Isthmian cult in Corinth, but there is scope to look into the evidence from other cultic sites. It is hoped that this will elucidate Roman policy over Greek cults, which may shed light on understanding how the Romans ruled the people, especially those of Greek origin in Corinth. Finally, the study will discuss the social function of Greek cultic events in relation to freedpersons in Roman Corinth.

2.3.1 The Roman imperial cult and the provinces

The Roman imperial cult was a new experience for the people in the provinces. In 27 BCE, the new title, Augustus, was given to the first Roman Emperor; the title contained meanings such as ‘stately’, ‘dignified’, ‘holy’, and ‘consecrated by auguries’.²⁹⁵ Possibly the verb *augere* (to increase) also had a considerable impact.²⁹⁶ ‘*Sebastos*’, a Greek equivalent of Augustus, had more sense of religious reverence²⁹⁷ and an imperial element that was incorporated into the local festival called ‘*Sebasta*’.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Ovid, *Fastorum libri sex: The Fasti of Ovid* (Cambridge Library Collection - Classics; Vol. 2. Commentary on Books 1 and 2; ed. and trans. James George Frazer, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 228.

²⁹⁶ P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Trans. Alan Shapiro; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010 [1988]), p. 98.

²⁹⁷ S. Price, ‘Rituals and Power’, in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. R.A. Horsley; Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1979), p. 47, n. 1.

²⁹⁸ Price, ‘Rituals and Power’, p. 49. Philo testifies to the scale of this new cult in Alexandria (*Legat.*, 149-51).

The Emperor's title therefore already carried power in the provinces.²⁹⁹ The Roman imperial cult appeared to be similar to the Hellenistic ruler cult. The rituals involved sacrificial processions, parades, public meals and lavish games. The imperial feast days became high points of the year, especially for the poor people within society. For noble people, these were occasions to show their honour to the emperor. Furthermore, the speed and extent of the spread of this cult was an unprecedented phenomenon. The description below written by Nicolaos of Damascus, possibly, was not overstated.

Men gave him this name [Augustus] in view of his claim to honour; and, scattered over islands and continents, through city and tribe, they revere him by building temples and by sacrificing to him, thus requiting him for his great virtue and acts of kindness toward themselves.³⁰⁰

The form of imperial cult was not uniform. Rather, it differed from city to city according to the situations of hundreds of societies.³⁰¹ For example, the temples of the imperial cult were commonly situated in the centre of the city and were superior to the ones of the traditional cults of colonies, but they usually employed the architectural style of the provinces; in Egypt, distinctive red Egyptian granite was used in the civic temple in Heliopolis, most likely funded by the emperor.³⁰²

Romans, especially in the East, appropriated many elements of the ancient myths of the gods directly to personify and symbolize the emperor. Two examples will be mentioned here. Fig. 2-1 shows a pair of denarii coins minted before 31 BCE.³⁰³ The coin on the left shows the head of Octavian on the obverse, and a herm with a thunderbolt on the reverse which represents Jupiter or an equivalent to Zeus in Greek mythology. It was common for denarii coins minted during this period to have the imagery of Octavian on one side and a god on the other. What is noteworthy is that the coin

²⁹⁹ It is important to be aware of the fact that, in antiquity, there was no clear distinction between political and religious power such as we have in the modern period.

³⁰⁰ Nic. Dam., FGrH 90 F125, Trans. C.M. Hall (1923).

³⁰¹ B.D. Shaw, 'Rebels and outsiders' in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 11, (eds. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey and Dominic Rathbone; Vol. 11; 2nd edn; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 361.

³⁰² M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religion of Rome: Vol. I, A History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [1997]), p. 334.

³⁰³ Zanker, *The Power of Images*, p. 56.

on the right has the head of Octavian, which is presented as a herm and has a thunderbolt. This example shows that Octavian is now depicting himself in the image of a god; this was just before the battle of Actium.



Fig. 2-1 Two denarii coins of Octavian, before 31 BCE
 (Photograph © Bibliothèque nationale de France)
 Top right and left: Octavian, Jupiter-Herm
 Bottom left: Herm head with the features of Octavian
 Bottom right: Octavian on the *sella curulis*, with Victoria on his hand

Fig. 2-2 shows a cameo carved a few years earlier than Actium.³⁰⁴ Unlike the portrait of Octavian as a pious Roman man wearing a toga, this nude figure carrying a trident represents Octavian likened to a divinity, Neptune, or an equivalent to Poseidon in Greek mythology. The sinking enemy possibly represents Antony. These examples show that, even before he was called Augustus, it had become his strategy to use the image of deities of ancient myths. Octavian was portrayed in pictures, statues, and coins; all of these images became constant visual reminders of the new ruler and brought a new awareness to the people. The strategy was to ‘manifest as both god and man’ and ‘counterpoise to the many cult statues’.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Zanker, *The Power of Images*, p. 97.

³⁰⁵ Zanker, *The Power of Images*, p. 74.



Fig. 2-2 Oval gem: Octavian as Neptune mounting a chariot drawn by hippocamps
(Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

It is important to keep in mind how Romans viewed other nations. Cicero's writings show that Romans considered overcoming and ruling all the nations to be god-given dominion (*De Haruspicum Responsis* 18ff).³⁰⁶ This was possibly the general view that the Romans had when they colonized other cities. To be sure, the Romans justified their rule as divine will, but it would be inaccurate to think that the Romans always maintained their harsh domination over the nations. According to Pliny (*Panegyric* eg.2.21), it was important for the emperor to be a 'paternal protector and benefactor' rather than a good administrator. The distribution of benefits by the emperor took the form of personal favours and not public services. Augustus and Tiberius were not exceptions and

³⁰⁶ 'However good be our conceit of ourselves, conscript fathers, we have excelled neither Spain in population, nor Gaul in vigour, nor Carthage in versatility, nor Greece in art, nor indeed Italy and Latium itself in the innate sensibility characteristic of this land and its peoples; but in piety, in devotion to religion, and in that special wisdom which consists in the recognition of the truth that the world is swayed and directed by divine disposal, we have excelled every race and every nation.' Cic., *Har.*, 19.

were munificent in this regard.³⁰⁷

In addition, Gellius testifies to Cato's policy which represented the Romans' tactic for preserving the people and their city (6.3.52).³⁰⁸ This was from a rational reason of self-interest rather than humanitarian reasons; Rome's policy was to let provinces have their autonomy after they had been defeated. The strategy was to make the people of the provinces favour Rome to ensure Rome's firm rule over them. Peter A. Brunt adds a comment that the destruction of Corinth was the only case that had marred Rome's record,³⁰⁹ although he does not comment on the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE.

As many historians point out, it is essential to look into the local features of provinces. Before looking into the situation in Corinth, one example from Carthage, a city which was destroyed by the Romans in the same year as Corinth, will be mentioned. The relief in Carthage (Fig. 2-3) is a copy relief of the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of Augustan Peace) in Rome.³¹⁰ The original relief (Fig. 2-4) demonstrates fertility and abundance: the imagery which celebrates the peace of the new age brought by the Roman Empire.³¹¹ The central divinity, often explained to be Pax, Tellas or Venus, is a personification of Rome, and the two figures, *aurae*, on the sides symbolize the breeze on land and sea. In the Carthage version of the relief, the image in the centre is copied exactly, including the posture of the ox and the sheep at the bottom, but the two figures on the sides are different. What is significant is that the female divinity on the right is replaced by a masculine figure, possibly Triton, and instead of a calm, tamed sea dragon, there are mysterious creatures coming out of the sea. It is clear that, in this change, much attention has been paid to the figure depicted as being ruled by the Romans. The original relief was built for Roman citizens in Rome to see, and a change was required in the colony.

³⁰⁷ Price, 'Rituals and Power', p. 48.

³⁰⁸ 'Cato used every method of protection and defence without discrimination, at one time commending the Rhodians as of the highest merit, again exculpating them and declaring them blameless, yet again demanding that their property and riches should not be coveted, now asking for their pardon as if they were in the wrong, now pointing out their friendship to the commonwealth, appealing now to clemency, now to the mercy shown by our forefathers, now to the public interest.' Gell., 6.3.52.

³⁰⁹ P.A. Brunt, *Roman imperial themes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 315.

³¹⁰ Zanker, *The Power of Images*, p. 315.

³¹¹ Zanker, *The Power of Images*, p. 174.

For Romans, the depiction of how the subject submitted to the ruler was a key element that needed special care in the provinces.



Fig. 2-3 Relief of Pax, Tellus, or Venus, from Carthage
(Roy Hessing, ©Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke)



Fig. 2-4 Ara Pacis Augustae: Relief from the eastern façade
(B. Malter, MalC-50_0003788601,03, ©The University of Cologne: Cologne Digital Archaeology Laboratory, www.arachne.uni-koeln.de)

2.3.2 Roman colonial policy towards Greek cults in Corinth

In Corinth, Romans reconstructed traditional Greek cults and rededicated the same divinity on the same location; in four of the following sanctuaries, there are clear archaeological records from both the Greek and Roman periods. They were the temple of Apollo at the north of the Forum, which also appears in literary evidence observed by Pausanias in 160 CE;³¹² the temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth, which appears in Strabo's Geography in 29 BCE;³¹³ Asclepius; and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, whose records date back to the 8th century BCE and which was reconstructed during the Augustan period. It is said that, especially in the case of the temple of Apollo and the temple of Aphrodite, the Romans made no attempt to preserve the Greek temple plan but rebuilt them in Roman style.³¹⁴ The recent study by Christine M. Thomas, referring to the work of Charles Williams, emphasizes that it was a 'revival' or 'renewal' rather than 'refoundation'. Owing to the Romans' active project, these cults were revived in their original places as a part of 'Roman civic religion'.³¹⁵

This was not the case for all of the Greek cults; evidence has shown that there were peripheral cults that were ignored. Bookidis points this out by referring to the record of Pausanias (2.3.7). Pausanias observed, possibly rather surprisingly, that the monument of the sons of Medea, one of the testimonies of Corinth's mythical past, was still standing, but its religious practices had been abandoned. To be sure, Pausanias observed this in 160 CE, and this may not be direct evidence of the early colonization period. However, it is natural to consider that, once a cult had been revived, practices must have been continued. This evidence of abandoned cults possibly shows that the Romans carefully selected which cults they were going to revive. Thus, it is important to investigate

³¹² 'As you go along another road from the marketplace, which leads to Sikyon, you can see on the right of the road a temple and bronze image of Apollo.' Paus., 2.3.6.

³¹³ 'On its other sides the mountain is less steep, though here too it rises to a considerable height and is conspicuous all round. Now the summit has a small temple of Aphroditê; and below the summit is the spring Peirenê, which, although it has no overflow, is always full of transparent, potable water.' Strab., 8.6.21.

³¹⁴ C.M. Thomas, 'Greek Heritage in Roman Corinth and Ephesos: Hybrid Identities and Strategies of Display in the Material Record of Traditional Mediterranean Religions', in *Corinth in Context*, p. 123.

³¹⁵ Bookidis concludes that they became a Roman civic religion. N. Bookidis, 'Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, p. 163.

the criteria the Romans had for their renewal plan.

The fountain of Peirene in Corinth was well known to the authors of classical literature.³¹⁶ The earliest narrative appears in the 5th century BCE.³¹⁷ In the myth, the Corinthian hero Bellerophon tames Pegasus with the help of Athena. C. M. Thomas, who carefully looked into this motif,³¹⁸ comments that, during the classical periods, only the Pegasus appears in the visual images and the Pegasus itself was a symbol of the city. However, what is significant is that, during the Roman period, the Pegasus appears alongside a figure who has tamed him, as shown in a Corinthian coin in Fig. 2-5.³¹⁹ The other side of the coin has Poseidon with his trident, and the names of Corinthian *duoviri*. Since this coin was minted between 43 and 42 BCE, a year after the Romans started to refound the city, the intention of this design was probably to show power over the Greeks by symbolizing the colony as Pegasus. Another coin that was minted during this period has a similar motif: on the reverse, a figure, possibly Bellerophon, is riding Pegasus striking his spear downwards, and on the obverse, there is a head of Julius Caesar.³²⁰ Using a deity from their myths as a symbol of Roman rule, which had become a common form of imagery by that time, as stated above, appealed better to the Greeks, or at least that is what the Romans thought. These images were possibly designed intentionally to demonstrate Roman power over the new immigrants, who were mainly freedpersons of Rome. These designs tie in with the fact that many of the immigrants were, in the eyes of Romans, mobs who were sent away from Rome, as discussed above. The design reflects the need for the Romans to force the people, who were possibly Greeks returning home, to rebuild the city speedily at the initial stage of the colonization programme. People were mobilized in order to restore the world-renowned city, which now represented Roman power over the East. The fountain of Peirene was suitable for this

³¹⁶ Pin., *O.* 13.60-86; E., *Med.* 68-69; Plaut., *Aul.*, 557-59; and Cic., *Att.*, 12.5. B.H. Hill, *The Springs: Peirene, Sacred Spring, Glauke: Corinth I*, 6 (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1964), pp. 1-4. Cf. B.A. Robinson, 'Fountains and the Formation of Cultural Identity', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, p. 116 n. 12.

³¹⁷ Pin., *O.*, 13. (Thirteenth Olympian Ode.)

³¹⁸ Thomas, 'Greek Heritage in Roman Corinth and Ephesos', pp. 138-139.

³¹⁹ Edward no. 17. Edward, *Coins*, p. 16. B.A. Robinson, 'Fountains and the Formation of Cultural Identity', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, p. 127.

³²⁰ Edward no. 16. Edward, *Coins*, p. 16 and Plate 1.

purpose since the mythical motif was appropriate for the Romans in infusing their idea of domination.³²¹ Once the city had been rebuilt, the oppressive atmosphere was likely to have been more relaxed than in the early colonization period, but the influence of these strong images was always there to remind the Greeks that they were always subject to Roman domination.



Fig. 2-5 Corinthian coin (T 1929 322): issued between 43 and 42 BCE
by Corinthian duoviri P. Tadius Chilo and C. Iulius Nicephorus

Photo: Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bartzioti

© American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations



Fig. 2-6 Corinthian coin (2002 94): Obverse: Wreath, Reverse: Dolphin with Trident

Photo: Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bartzioti

© American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations

³²¹ Thomas calls this process ‘the selective appropriation’. Thomas, ‘Greek Heritage in Roman Corinth and Ephesos’, p. 138.

If it is accepted that the Romans had a strategy of selecting locations that were deeply related to Corinthian identity and useful for displaying their power, the cult at Isthmia is another location that needs to be explored. When Corinth was refounded, the renewal of the Isthmian Games was an important project since it was one of the most famous festivals in Greece.³²² The influence of the Games has often been discussed, but their religious root is also an important element to be considered here. Originally, the Games were said to have been started to commemorate the funeral of Melikertes. In the Greek myth, his mother, Ino, threw herself with her child, Melikertes, into the sea, and a dolphin brought Melikertes' corpse to the Isthmus where they held his funeral.³²³ A pine tree or its wreath became a symbol of the Games, since the corpse was brought to the Isthmus, under a pine tree in the myth. Pausanias provides us with literary evidence of a pine tree and an altar of Melikertes situated at the stated location when he visited this place.³²⁴ Another aspect of the story is that Melikertes was changed into a sea-deity, Palaimon, who is associated with Poseidon, who is the deity of the sea. Therefore, key figures and elements of the Isthmian cult are Melikertes, Poseidon, a dolphin and a pine tree. This motif was used in Corinthian coins, which, again, demonstrates the Roman 'creative process' (Fig. 2-6);³²⁵ a design with a dolphin and a trident on the same side of the coin can be interpreted along the same lines as the case of the 'Taming of Pegasus'.³²⁶

The designs of these coins strongly reflect the fact that there were people of Greek cultural background in Corinth. The motif of the Greek cult was used to depict how the people submitted to Roman rule, which was a familiar theme in the Empire. Furthermore, these designs suggest that Romans, rather than imposing rigid control over the people, used the major Corinthian cults

³²² See 2.1.2 for details.

³²³ There is another version of the story in which Ino's corpse was also taken to Corinth. E.R. Gebhard, 'Rites for Melikertes-Palaimon', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, pp. 169, 176.

³²⁴ 'Farther on the pine still grew by the shore at the time of my visit, and there was an altar of Melicertes. At this place, they say, the boy was brought ashore by a dolphin; Sisyphus found him lying and gave him burial on the Isthmus, establishing the Isthmian games in his honor.' Paus., 2.1.3.

³²⁵ Gebhard, 'Rites for Melikertes-Palaimon', p. 184.

³²⁶ Interestingly, Betsey A. Robinson pointed out in 2001 that, in one of the monuments, a dolphin initially had carried a figure on it, but this was chiselled away. Elizabeth R. Gebhard comments that she has confirmed Robinson's observation with Nancy Bookidis. Gebhard, 'Rites for Melikertes-Palaimon', p. 187, n. 83.

effectively. People were offered freedom to worship their Greek gods as long as their deities were ultimately under Roman power. It may be possible to state that the Roman colonial policy in Corinth was based on, and characterized by, the idea of *Libertinus*, i.e., the tie essentially formed by freedom and favour-debt. In other words, Greeks who had become war captives of Rome were offered a chance to return to their homeland by Julius Caesar, which was a great favour in the eyes of the Romans. They were furthermore allowed to maintain Greek religious observances. Therefore, rather than being compelled to submit themselves to Rome, just as if they were slaves, people were given *freedom to serve* Rome. The name of the colony, *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*, thus symbolically conveyed the meaning ‘by the great favour of Julius Caesar’, which defined the status of both the rulers and the subjects in every aspect of their lives.

2.3.3 Freedpersons and Greek cultic festivals

As the Corinthian cults were resurrected by the Romans, people with Greek cultural roots were able to enjoy their old traditional religious lifestyles. These were occasions for people to celebrate their Corinthian identity that was connected to the Greek past. Therefore, the study of the renewal of the Greek cults presented above may also shed light on the issues of social control. Since it was vital for Romans to prevent any anti-Roman reaction of the people, the effectiveness of these cults must have been part of the Romans’ intention. Cultic festivals were the occasions in which both elites and the populace participated, and it is important to articulate their social function, especially in terms of the ways in which they affected the people of lower social strata.

Several points can be discussed which arise from the case of the Isthmian Games and the associated cultic festival. It is known that the Games were administrated by the *agonothetes* (ἄγωνοθέτης), the highest office that could be attained by a Corinthian citizen. It is not inconceivable that the post was suitable for those with a Greek cultural background since the Games had strong Greek elements,³²⁷ for example, the victors’ list was inscribed in Greek and not in Latin,

³²⁷ The office holder in 7 CE was Heius Pamphilus, who was a freedman, and whose origin may have been Greek. He also became *duovir* twice. Kent no. 150; Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 68.

presumably from the beginning of the resumption.³²⁸ In the later period, there were at least three Greeks from other cities who held this office around the time of Claudius' reign.³²⁹ Thus, in practical terms, it possibly appealed better to the Greeks if these Corinthian events were organized by people of Greek origin. The next important point is that Romans also re-established not only the Isthmian Games but also the Isthmian cultic festival. Elizabeth Gebhard's study reveals that it contained a ritual that was deeply connected to the original form, i.e. the ancient Corinthian ritual of the Melikertes-Palaimon cult.³³⁰ Thus, the ritual was possibly performed by priests and people of Greek language and culture. It is also natural to consider that the noble freedpersons participated in the core part of the Isthmian cultic festival, together with a great number of those who honoured their Corinthian tradition. This consequently brought them a sense of solidarity. In other words, if there was any tension that existed between the socially successful people and those in the lower strata, this was alleviated through the cultic festivals; one of the reasons to surmise that tension existed is that the elites were more likely to have been assimilated to Roman culture and language in order to have acquired their social status, whereas non-elites were those with humble occupations who would have had some degree of anti-Roman sentiment from their oppression.³³¹ However, through the joint celebration of the *Greek* cultic festivals, which were possibly the climaxes of their daily lives, their friction was alleviated. Furthermore, considering the fact that the Romans were involved in these cults from the initial stage of their renewal, there must have been a need for someone to mediate between

³²⁸ The oldest extant inscription is dated to 3 CE. Meritt, no. 14; Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 14-18. Cf. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 19, n. 6.

³²⁹ They were Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (43 CE), C. Iulius Laco (39 CE) and C. Iulius Spartiaticus (Laco's son, 46/47 CE). Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 31; Spawforth, 'Roman Corinth', pp. 174-5; West, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 48. This phenomenon seems to be striking, considering the fact that the role of *agonothetes* included facilitating Caesarean games. West, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 48; Furthermore, Spartiaticus was a high priest of the imperial cult. West no. 68: West, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 50-53.

³³⁰ Gebhard considers that the colonists continued at least some parts of the original ritual, such as the mourning song for Melikertes-Palaimon. In addition, it is important to note that Gebhard reports the findings from Pit A near the Isthmian sanctuary (Palaimonion). It was filled with bones of young cattle mixed with other carbonized remains and fragments of dining and cooking wares. The number of lamps discovered in the area suggests that the rites and the feast took place at night. E.R. Gebhard, 'Rites for Melikertes-Palaimon in the Early Roman Corinthia', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, pp. 165-203 (for the Melikertes-Palaimon ritual: 174-8; for archaeological evidence: 189-94).

³³¹ For example, the reason for Tiberius to have changed the political region of senatorial provinces was that there were protests against high taxation in Achaëa and Macedonia. He thus attached Achaëa and Macedonia to Moesia as imperial provinces in 15 CE. Tac., *Ann.*, 1.76.4; 1.80.1; Suet., *Cl.*, 25.3.

the Greek religious events and the Roman authorities, especially on the occasions when they held a great cultic festival. These roles were precisely for the notable freedpersons with a Greek cultural background. In addition, it is most likely that they made a large financial contribution to these festivals and were honoured by the people.³³² Thus, it can also be surmised that they were seen as a role model for ambitious freedpersons of the lower strata.³³³ On the other hand, from the Roman authorities' point of view, these people were the key figures in controlling the mass of people of Greek origin.

In summary, it has been demonstrated that the Romans kept their power over the Greeks in a unique way; their strategy was to select visual images such as the 'Taming of Pegasus' or 'Dolphin with a trident' which were the motifs of the myths that were associated with Corinthian identity. It was an effective way for the Romans to utilize Greek cults since people were able to keep their traditional religious observances *as long as* their mythical deities were under the power of the Imperial cult. In other words, the Romans did not resolve the tensions between the Romans and Greeks by imposing a rigid domination; rather, people in Corinth were able to enjoy more freedom under the Roman rule. This atmosphere existed particularly after the city had been rebuilt, and was politically and economically stabilized; this was a stage when people's lives were sustained by the urban economic growth and individuals had more chance to attain wealth.

The aspect of exploiting Greek cults as a means of social control has also been discussed. It has been argued that, for Romans, resuming not only the Games but also the cultic festival of Isthmia was aimed at the people with Greek cultural roots. This kind of great cultic festival was a highlight of their daily lives, which brought the people of Greek origin together, from the elites to the humble populace. Offering such occasions to the subject people was an act of benefaction, which in effect purged the anti-Roman sentiments of the people of Greek origin. In addition, through the notable

³³² It is interesting that Cn. Babbius Philinus, a freedman who became *duovir*, was making contributions to the worship of Poseidon, which has a close connection with the Isthmian cult. West, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 6.

³³³ The view that there were ambitious freedpersons is based on the fact that there was economic growth caused by the re-foundation of the city, as stated in 2.2. Manufacturing, commerce and tourism played important roles in the growth, which created more chance of upward social mobility in Corinth than in other Roman colonies where it was necessary for the people to rely on associations with people of higher status.

freedpersons who played key roles in the Greek festivals, Romans were able to control effectively the mass of the people with a Greek cultural background. In other words, it was vital for the Romans to utilize the Greek cults and their festivals, which conversely shows that there was a significant need to control the people of Greek origin. In short, the above study refutes the idea that the social background of Corinth was thoroughly Roman, as scholars such as Bruce W. Winter have argued.³³⁴ Rather, it was the Roman *creative harness* which controlled the complex interactions they had with the Greeks.

³³⁴ For example, Winter argues the discontinuity of the Greek culture, and stresses the dominant influence of *Romanitas*. B.W. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 7-22.

CHAPTER 3

THE AUGUSTALES IN ROMAN CORINTH AND GREEK LOYALTY TO THE EMPEROR

This chapter explores the question of loyalty among the freedpersons of Roman Corinth. As the imperial cult was central to the lives of many in Corinth, questions concerning loyalty to the emperor and the motives behind such attitudes are fundamental. At the same time, understanding the difference between various social and political contexts both inside and outside the Roman colony will also help to highlight the distinctive nature of the Roman colony.

The question concerning the Augustales is relevant in this regard. They were a group of people who voluntarily devoted themselves to the cult of the emperor, and since their membership was mainly drawn from the freedpersons' strata and not strictly from the ruling elites, they may reflect the attitude of the populace, at least at one end of the spectrum of loyalty to Rome. Furthermore, because there is no evidence of their existence in mainland Greece except in Corinth and Patrae, which were two important colonies for Rome, exploring the contexts in relation to non-colonial cities of Achaëa may shed light on wider Greek perceptions of the imperial cult. The exploration of the attitudes of the Greeks who did not experience Roman slavery and manumission is expected to serve as a background for understanding freedpersons' loyalty to the imperial cult in the colony.

The study will first explore the general nature of the Augustales in the empire, and then examine the Augustales in Corinth. Archaeological evidence will be discussed in order to provide a picture of their place in Corinthian society. The second section of the chapter aims to discuss the motives behind their attitudes toward the imperial cult. For purposes of comparison, it will explore the situation in non-colonial areas of Achaëa, with particular focus on three inter-related aspects. First, an overview of the Greek reaction toward the imperial rule, especially in terms of the imperial cult; second, the Greek historical tradition of the ruler-cult will briefly be overviewed in order to discuss their perception of the Roman emperor. Finally, the loyalty of the Augustales as well as their influence on the people in Corinth will be discussed in relation to the Greek attitudes toward Roman

rule.

3.1 The Augustales³³⁵

3.1.1 The Augustales in the Roman Empire

The study of the Augustales stretches back over a century and several decades.³³⁶ There are approximately 2,500 extant inscriptions which demonstrate the group's existence from the time of Augustus to the third century CE.³³⁷ They were people who devoted themselves to the imperial cult. It is also thought that the Augustales developed into a municipal *ordo* before the early second century CE.³³⁸ While 85-95 per cent of the inscriptions are of freedmen, those of freeborn are also found.³³⁹ Geographical distribution indicates that they flourished in Italy (but not in Rome) and in the West of the empire; in the East, the evidence is found only in the colonies.³⁴⁰

³³⁵ In this study, the term 'Augustales' will be employed to denote all the forms of the organization collectively; there are approximately forty variants, including the three most popular titles: *Augustales*, *seviri Augustales*, *magistri Augustales*. Cf. R. Duthoy, 'Les *Augustales' *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978), pp. 1254-1309: in introductory footnote: 'ceux qui portent comme titre un des quelques 40 variantes derivees des titres sevir augustalis ou augustalis'. Cf. also S.E. Ostrow, '"Augustales" along the Bay of Naples: A Case for Their Early Growth', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 34, H. 1 (1st Qtr., 1985), pp. 64-101 (65).

³³⁶ Some of the key studies are: A. von Premmerstein, 'Augustales', *Dizionario Epigrafico* 1 (1895), pp. 824-77; Lily Ross Taylor, 'Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: A Chronological Study', *TAPhA* 45 (1914), pp. 231-253; Duthoy, 'Les *Augustales', pp. 1254-1309.

³³⁷ The earliest evidence is from Nepet, in Etruria, 13/12 BCE (CIL XI, 3200). The latest evidence is from Carsulae, 270 CE (CIL XI, 4589). Cf. Margaret Laird, 'Evidence in Context: Public and Funerary Monuments of the Seviri Augustales at Ostia' (Ph.D. dissertation; Princeton University, 2002), p.1, n. 2. The only literary evidence is Petronius' *Satyricon*: in the novel, Trimalchio and his two friends were members of the Augustales (*Cena Trimalch.* 30.1-2; 57.6 (Hermeros); 65.3-5 (Habinnas); 71.9-12). Ostrow and Laird both state that the following sources are unreliable since they are from later period; two scholiasts on Horace (Pseudo-Acron, *ad Hor. Serm.* 2.3, 281; Porphyryon, *ad Hor. Serm.* 2.3, 281) confuse the Augustales with other institutions (Ostrow, '"Augustales" along the Bay of Naples', p. 66, n. 9; Laird, 'Evidence in Context', p. 1, n. 4).

³³⁸ A.D. Nock, 'Seviri and Augustales' in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 348-56 (353). Taylor, 'Augustales', p. 231; M.L. Laird, 'Reconsidering the So-Called "Sede degli Augustali" at Ostia', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 45 (2000), pp. 41-84 (61). Evidence shows that they were permitted to wear *toga praetexta* (*toga* of the magistrates) and to be accompanied by lictors on public occasions. However, whether the Augustales were a part of a civic order is debatable. E.g. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 257.

³³⁹ S.E. Ostrow, 'The Augustales in the Augustan Scheme' in *Between Republic and Empire* (eds. K.A. Raafaub and M. Toher; London; University of California Press, 1990), p. 364. Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art*, p. 58.

³⁴⁰ There was a relatively larger freeborn population in the North than the South of Italy. Mouritsen refers to Abramenko, who stresses that, for this reason, the membership of the Augustales was not established exclusively for freedmen, but was open to any Roman citizens. Thus, the fact that the membership was

These general features show the vast scale of the organization in the empire. However, their unique nature is that, since there is no evidence that Rome ordered the group's establishment, it is thought that their emergence and development were primarily focused upon devotion to the emperor, with the ensuing consequences for the rise of emperor-worship during the Principate.³⁴¹ In the following part, their characteristics of loyalty will further be explored in relation to their social context.

When the Augustales originally emerged, it is said that they were autonomous representatives of the people.³⁴² Thus, they were not strictly from the ruling *ordo*, but those who stood between the municipal elites and the people, acting in interests of the latter. The evidence from Narbo, which is one of the earliest pieces of evidence of their existence, shows that they served to settle local disputes between the municipal officers and the people.³⁴³ As they emerged in towns, as in the case of Narbo, the situation benefited both the local magistrates and the Augustales; the former benefited from the Augustales since they in practice eased the financial problems of the town by sponsoring festivals and games and making lavish benefactions to the local town; the Augustales, on the other hand, received social honour and prestige from the people. It is important to note that this 'win-win situation'³⁴⁴ only held when the Augustales were wealthy. Although there are some exceptional cases in which their economic state was not necessarily prosperous,³⁴⁵ most cases show that they were freedmen who succeeded in obtaining wealth. The evidence from Campania is important in this sense since their

composed predominantly of freedmen was simply the result of the social reality. His point is important in the sense that it warns that the scholars' general view, that the Augustales are characterized as solely a group of freedmen, should leave room for discussion (A. Abramenko, *Die munizipale Mittelschichte im kaiserzeitlichen Italien: Zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1993), esp. pp. 128-89, 279-310; cf. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 252).

³⁴¹ Ostrow, 'Augustales in the Augustan Scheme', p. 366; A.D. Nock, 'Seviri and Augustales' in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 353-4.

³⁴² P. Kneissl, 'Entstehung und Bedeutung der Augustalität: Zur Inschrift der ara Narbonensis (CIL XII 4333)'. *Chiron* 10 (1980), pp. 291-326.

³⁴³ Ostrow refers to Kneissl. Kneissl, 'Entstehung und Bedeutung der Augustalität', pp. 305-6; Ostrow, 'Augustales in the Augustan Scheme', p. 371.

³⁴⁴ As Petersen explains. Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art*, pp. 57-83, esp. p. 58.

³⁴⁵ For example, the ten Augustales in Teate who also belonged to a funerary association as ordinary members do not seem to have been particularly wealthy, but rather more humble in their status. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 259.

gravestones record their occupations: they were artisans such as the carpenters and rope-makers, and merchants (such as dealers in purple dyes, glass and silver dealers; bankers; shippers; wine merchants; marble vendors; perfume sellers; and grain measurer).³⁴⁶ Considering the occupations of the Roman freedpersons in general, this situation in Campania was possibly not an isolated case. Thus, as above, it can be said that the emergence of the Augustales has its background in the social advancement of freedpersons before and during the early Principate.

It may be important to ask how Augustus was able to win such ‘wealthy backers’ who emerged spontaneously, and later evolved and spread across his empire. One reason for this is related to his social reform that redefined Roman orders. It is known that two laws, *Lex Fufia Caninia* and *Lex Aelia Sentia*,³⁴⁷ were enacted to restrict the numbers of slaves a master could emancipate, in order to restore social order, as discussed in Chapter 1. The requirements for obtaining manumission clearly show that only those who were not prejudicial to Rome were eligible to be emancipated, which, in effect, created compliant freedpersons.³⁴⁸ Georges Fabre explains that the dichotomous nature of freedpersons is expressed in the literary sources, and their ‘good’ and ‘bad’ characters primarily depended on their *fides* (loyalty, faithfulness) to their patrons.³⁴⁹ Whether this was customary language to express their nature or not,³⁵⁰ this dichotomous view was not only how they appeared in the eyes of the Roman elites, but also the reality that was produced by the Roman system of *patronatus*. Augustan social reform fuelled the creation of such ‘good’ freedpersons by infusing them with Roman *mores*. Furthermore, the fact that the bestowal of social honour, such as *bisellium*, was open to freedpersons created competition among freedpersons; that is, a race to pay loyalty to

³⁴⁶ Ostrow refers to Duthoy. Ostrow, ‘“Augustales” along the Bay of Naples’, pp. 69-70; R. Duthoy, ‘Les *Augustales’, *ANRW (ANRC)* II.16.2 (1978), pp. 1254-1309.

³⁴⁷ See section 1.1.3 for the details of the two laws.

³⁴⁸ According to Ostrow, these laws have created the ‘character of a competition’ in which the rule was to show ‘compliant behaviour, loyalty and obedience’. Ostrow, ‘Augustales in the Augustan Scheme’, pp. 374-5.

³⁴⁹ Georges Fabre, *Libertus: Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la République Romaine* (Paris: École française de Rome, 1981), esp. pp. 232-42.

³⁵⁰ Whether there were customary phrases to express the character of freedpersons is debatable. Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 62. n. 143.

Rome.³⁵¹ It can be said that Augustales were prominent participants in this race.

In addition, when looking at the broader picture, it is apparent that this phenomenon coheres with other changes in the empire. For example, it is said that the image of Augustus began to be portrayed on the local civic coinage minted by the independent local authorities, when, according to Wallace-Hadrill, such authorities, 'had no obligation to do so'.³⁵² They increasingly chose to honour Augustus. On the other hand, the public honours to the senators declined, possibly not because of the intervention of Rome, but as a result of the natural caution that had developed among the people.³⁵³ It is often said that the battle at Actium was a sufficient message for the people of the provinces to realize that Octavian was their new ruler and benefactor.³⁵⁴ It was in this social context of the reaction of the subject people throughout the empire that the Augustales emerged and proliferated.

Following the exploration of the development of the Augustales and its social background, it is worth referring to two examples from Campania, since they provide clear evidence of the presence and influence of the Augustales. The excavation of the site at Misenum, was begun in 1967; it uncovered marble walls, mosaics and stucco decoration with a great forecourt to the building. From the inscription that reads '*templo Aug(usti) quod est Augustalium* (the temple of Augustus at Misenum which belongs to the Augustales)', it is thought that the temple and the meeting hall were dedicated by a *collegium* of Augustales before the first half of the first century CE.³⁵⁵ This evidence of the building complex enables us to picture that, in addition to their cultic events, they regularly held meetings for other purposes.

The monument of C. Munatius Faustus, who was an Augustalis in Pompeii, is known for its

³⁵¹ Ostrow, 'Augustales in the Augustan Scheme', pp. 374-5.

³⁵² Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus', *JRS* 76 (1986), pp. 66-87 (72); Ostrow, 'Augustales in the Augustan Scheme', p. 367.

³⁵³ W. Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period', in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (eds. F. Millar and E. Segal Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 129-67 (154, n. 16); Ostrow, 'Augustales in the Augustan Scheme', p. 367.

³⁵⁴ As Bowersock explains: 'What happened was undoubtedly what [Augustus] wished, but there was nothing he had to do to make it happen, except to defeat Antony.' Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 115.

³⁵⁵ Ostrow, '"Augustales" along the Bay of Naples', p. 75.

relief which carries a vivid visual image (Fig. 3-1). The relief shows his contribution to the local people together with an inscription which honours his bestowal of *bisellium*.³⁵⁶ The relief contains a group of men wearing togas, one of whom is Faustus himself, watching over the distribution of grain to the local people. The monument clearly demonstrates his position as a lavish benefactor as well as the prominent status of a freedman who became an Augustalis during the second half of the first century.³⁵⁷ Both pieces of evidence demonstrate the power of the Augustales, in terms of both wealth and social status in society; striking considering that the majority of the members were freedmen.



Fig. 3-1 Monument of C. Munatius Faustus, epitaph and a scene of grain distribution. Pompeii, first century CE.³⁵⁸ Photo: ©Stephen Petersen

³⁵⁶ *Bisellium* is an honorary seat given by the state for a person who has done special service. The relief on the side of the Faustus' monument shows the *bisellium*.

³⁵⁷ Petersen, *The Freedmen in Roman Art*, p. 67.

³⁵⁸ Petersen, *The Freedmen in Roman Art*, p. 68, Fig. 38.

This brings to mind the other relief which contained figures of freedpersons, but in a significantly different situation; i.e., the relief from the tomb of Haterii which was discussed in Chapter 1.³⁵⁹ The stark contrast between the two reliefs is not hard to see: the freedpersons in Haterii's relief, wearing the typical costume of freedpersons, especially the *pilleus* (freedperson's cap), are sitting almost in the margin of the relief (Figs. 1-3 and 1-4), whereas Faustus is overseeing the people while wearing the toga of a Roman magistrate.³⁶⁰ It must be noted that the former depiction of freedpersons possibly symbolizes the countless freedpersons in society who did not leave any records. In contrast, Faustus' monument may represent one of the wealthiest freedpersons, who had climbed up the social ladder of the empire and obtained power. In addition, the fact that Faustus was not the only Augustalis in Pompeii who received *bisellium*, also shows the prominence of the Augustales in the city.

This overview of the two examples of the Augustales has helped to provide us with a picture of their social standing; however, it is also important to acknowledge their diverse nature. As Henrik Mouritsen and Margaret Laird both note, there is a danger that some individual cases are understood as being typical of the Augustales, and used to create a 'standard version'.³⁶¹ This is particularly true since the characteristics of the Augustales differ according to the regions. Regarding their economic level, for example, Mouritsen cautions that 'an Augustalis was not per se "rich", and neither were all rich freedmen necessarily Augustales'.³⁶² The Augustales in Teate who also belonged to a funerary association were not thought to be particularly wealthy, but rather more humble in their status.³⁶³ Their diverse character is also exemplified in the titles of the groups: 'Augustales', 'Magistri Augustales', and 'Seviri Augustales' were among the forty or more variants.³⁶⁴ This fact possibly

³⁵⁹ See 1.2.1 for details.

³⁶⁰ The Augustales were permitted to wear *toga praetexta*. E.g., Taylor, 'Augustales', p. 231.

³⁶¹ Laird, 'Evidence in Context', p. iii; Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 253.

³⁶² Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 260.

³⁶³ Mouritsen, *The Freedman*, p. 259.

³⁶⁴ Duthoy, 'Les *Augustales', n. 65; Cf. Laird, 'Evidence in Context', p. 1; Ostrow, "Augustales" along the Bay of Naples', p. 65.

shows that they were autonomous, rather than under the control of the Roman authorities. Indeed, since no single prescription from Rome ordering their foundation has been found,³⁶⁵ it seems that there was no need for them to take the initiative in their foundation, but they only required modification and adjustment.³⁶⁶ In any event, it is important not to presuppose without exploring the local situation that the Augustales uniformly had the same characteristics as those in Misenum or Pompeii.

In many towns, it is thought that they were accorded certain privileges of the ruling elites: for example, they were designated as an *ordo* by the *decuriones*, and were permitted to wear the toga of the magistrates (*toga praetexta*). In addition, they led the annual equestrian parade. However, whether they were, in fact, a part of a civic order is debatable. As Mouritsen points out, the wide range of evidence that differs locally makes it difficult to make the general assumption that they were necessarily an *ordo*, as some scholars do.³⁶⁷ In the documents in which *decuriones* refer to the Augustales, they are categorized as *collegia* and not an *ordo*,³⁶⁸ which suggests that it is possible to see them as a voluntary religious body. Furthermore, there is also a piece of evidence which was found in Alitinum in the Veneto that indicates the group had the characteristics of *collegia*; on the votive base which was dedicated to honour Venus, it is inscribed: '*genius collegii Augustalium Corinthus* (the tutelary spirit of the Corinthian college of Augustales)'.³⁶⁹ The fact that the Corinthian Augustales worshipped a tutelary deity strongly demonstrates their nature as *collegia*.³⁷⁰ This is not to deny the institutionalized character of the Augustales as explained above; however, at the same time, the point that Augustales were *collegia* must not be dismissed, which enables us, below, to

³⁶⁵ Ostrow, "Augustales" along the Bay of Naples', p. 68. Nock, 'Seviri and Augustales', p. 354.

³⁶⁶ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 121.

³⁶⁷ On the Augustales as *ordo*, Ostrow explains that they are often referred to as the 'second town council': Ostrow, "Augustales" along the Bay of Naples', p. 71; 'They constituted a second *ordo* beneath the decurions': Margaret L. Laird, 'The Emperor in a Roman Town: the Base of the *Augustales* in the Forum at Corinth', in *Corinth in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 67-116 (72).

³⁶⁸ Mouritsen, p. 257 esp. n. 34.

³⁶⁹ *CIL* 3.7268; Cf. Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', p. 74.

³⁷⁰ Laird refers to Duthoy: Duthoy, 'Les *Augustales', p. 1286; Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', p. 74.

explore their characteristics from the point of view of voluntary associations.

3.1.2 The Augustales in Achaia

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the only cities in Achaia in which the Augustales were present were Corinth and Patrae. In the Roman East, this development of the Augustales was a phenomenon associated with the eastern colonies;³⁷¹ their close relation with Rome was a primary motivation for them to show loyalty to Rome.³⁷² Given that the Augustales first emerged as a semi-religious association, it is worth exploring the social factors which encouraged their emergence and to see the Augustales as a voluntary association may serve to elucidate one aspect of their existence in Corinth and Patrae.

It is thought that voluntary associations proliferated in order to fulfil the needs of a society where political institutions failed to provide particular services.³⁷³ This was possibly the case in Narbo, where it is suggested that the Augustales first appeared to settle the disputes between the elites and the people, as discussed above. It is also considered that they emerged when society was in some kind of transition.³⁷⁴ Kloppenborg explains that the dislocation of a large number of people also causes voluntary associations to proliferate: for example, when slaves are sold to masters in a foreign country, or veterans settle in other cities. They are separated from the bonds of their affiliations such as family, association, or polis. Thus, they would naturally seek to find a new structure to which they could belong.³⁷⁵ It is not too difficult to consider that the situation in Corinth was such, especially in view of the colony's past; a nearly desolate city was occupied first by immigrants who were

³⁷¹ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 88.

³⁷² Ostrow briefly explains the reasons for their scarce presence in the Roman East; according to Ostrow, a) there were more freedpersons in the West, b) there was influence of the tradition of ruler-worship in the East, and c) the imperial cult was more in the hands of aristocrats in the East. Ostrow, "Augustales" along the Bay of Naples', p. 68.

³⁷³ To be precise, it is said that voluntary associations also grow when kinship fails to provide people's needs. See section 2.2.2 (under 'Professional association') for details.

³⁷⁴ Kloppenborg, 'Collegia and *Thiasoi*', p. 18; cf. also in the same book: Sandra Walker-Ramisch, p. 132, and S.G. Wilson, pp. 13-4.

³⁷⁵ Kloppenborg, 'Collegia and *Thiasoi*', pp. 17-8.

freedpersons, followed by influxes of people that continued into the first century CE, which eventually created a colony of approximately 100,000 people.³⁷⁶

In this regard, the Augustan colony, Patrae, founded in 14 BCE, was in a similar situation. Its geographical location favoured the colony's economic rise, and its importance for Rome was as significant as that of Corinth.³⁷⁷ Like Corinth, there were veterans and Roman citizens living in the city.³⁷⁸ Furthermore, archaeological evidence shows the city's planned construction—both the northern and southern pieces of land along the Corinthian Gulf—were chosen for colonial settlements and people from the peripheral area were relocated to the colony in order to boost its population.³⁷⁹ Under such circumstances, there must have been a considerable number of people who had lost their social ties and who, consequently, sought to restore their sense of belonging and social status. Considering the colony's special connection with Augustus, the founder of the colony, there is no reason not to suppose that becoming a member of the *Augustales* was attractive to many people. Although the number of extant epigraphic evidence in Patrae is relatively small, it does show that the members of the group were drawn from both freedmen and freeborn.³⁸⁰

To be sure, a large-scale settlement may not necessarily be responsible for the emergence of the *Augustales per se*; cogent reasons are needed, not for the proliferation of voluntary associations in general, but specifically for that of the *Augustales*. Nonetheless, their characteristics as *collegia* are thought to offer one explanation of their presence in the two cities. However, it is important at this point in the study to explore the details of the evidence in Corinth.

³⁷⁶ See section 2.2.2 for the colony's population.

³⁷⁷ For example, Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 68: 'In economic importance, Patrae matched Corinth.' Pausanias mentions that, for Augustus, it was a 'convenient port of call' (7.18.7).

³⁷⁸ For veterans in Patrae, see Millis, p. 20. Millis refers to A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe II, la cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire* (Athens: Centre de recherches de l'antiquité grecque et romain, 1998), pp. 25-8. Strabo states the presence of Roman citizens in Patrae (10.2.21).

³⁷⁹ S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p. 136.

³⁸⁰ The extant evidence shows that there were two freeborn, one freedman and three uncertain. Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', p. 74, n. 28.

The Augustales in Corinth

An extant archaeological plinth of the Augustales in Corinth is a useful piece of evidence that demonstrates not only their presence in Achaea but also their devotional activity in the Roman colony.³⁸¹ Despite the fact that its statue is missing, it is one of the few honorific monuments in the area that appears to stand in its original place, which enables us to examine the function of the monument in the context of its surrounding space. While it is certain from the inscription that the statue was commissioned to be built by *Augustales* in Corinth³⁸² there is no conclusive evidence regarding the figure depicted by the statue. The description by Pausanias may suggest that it was of Athena; however, given that the setting of the site is possibly the most significant location for the imperial cult in Corinth, more recent scholarly research suggests that it is more likely that the statue was of Augustus himself.³⁸³

The dating of the base is roughly given by the archaeological evidence; i.e., *terminus post quem* and *ante quem* are provided by the pavings of the Forum. It is evident that the base was constructed during or after the laying of the third cement paving,³⁸⁴ and before the construction of the fourth marble paving; this is because a part of the final marble paving was found, not under, but against the western side of the base, which indicates that the construction of the base must have been before the final pavement was laid: i.e., in the late first century CE. Thus, the statue was

³⁸¹ Cf. Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', p. 73. In the Roman East, the evidence of the Augustales can only be found in the colonies (Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 88), and their numbers are scarce compared to those in the West (Ostrow, 'Augustales' along the Bay of Naples', p. 68).

³⁸² For the details of the inscription, see Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 32 (no. 53), and Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', pp. 76-84.

³⁸³ Pausanias, who visited the Forum in the second century CE, observed a statue of Athena in the forum (Paus., 2.3.1). Since Athena is associated with the Corinthian hero Bellerophon (in the myth, Athena helps Bellerophon to tame a Pegasus at the fountain of Peirene), it may well be that they situated the statue of Athena in a significant site of the public area. The statue could have been Minerva, a deity equivalent to Athena in Roman mythology, or even Minerva Augusta (however, Laird points out that it is rare for the Augustales to dedicate statues to Minerva or Minerva Augusta; there are only four cases for each). It is not inconceivable that what Pausanias saw was identical to the statue in question; however, from the significance of the imperial setting, both Hoskins Walbank and Laird consider that it was a statue of Augustus. Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, 'Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth', in *Subject and Ruler* (ed. Alastair Small; JRA Supplement 17; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) pp. 201-213 (210, esp. n. 37.); Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', pp. 88-9.

³⁸⁴ The third pavement was laid during the Augustan period. Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', p. 84.

commissioned by the Augustales during the first century, after the reign of Augustus.

The alignment of the base in relation to the other buildings in the Forum provides important information (Fig. 3-2). The statue is situated in the southeastern part of the Forum in the unofficial courtyard of the Julian Basilica. The central west-east axis is provided by Temple E which was built at the west end of the Forum during the Tiberian period;³⁸⁵ the temple is thought to have functioned as a centre for the imperial cult.³⁸⁶ The base of the Augustales is situated on the west-east axis of Temple E,³⁸⁷ and the statue is thought to have faced west.³⁸⁸ In other words, the statue gazed towards Temple E, watching the rituals of the imperial cult, having the Julian Basilica in its background in the east. It is clear that this location in the Forum was carefully chosen as a ‘conceptual pivot’³⁸⁹ by the commissioners, most likely after the erection of Temple E.

³⁸⁵ I.e. 14-37 CE. For details of temple E, see C.K. Williams II, ‘A Re-evaluation of Temple E and the West End of the Forum of Corinth’ in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (eds. S. Walker and A. Cameron; Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium; BICS Supplement 55; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1989), pp. 156-62; Cf. Laird, ‘Emperor in a Roman Town’, p. 85.

³⁸⁶ Cf. Williams II. ‘Re-evaluation of Temple E’; Laird, ‘Emperor in a Roman Town’, p. 91, n. 74; Cf. N. Bookidis, ‘Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.’, in D.N. Schowalter and S.J. Friesen (eds.), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Cambridge: HTS, 2005), pp. 155-6.

³⁸⁷ To be precise, the base is ca. 2m north of this line; Laird suggests the possibility that building exactly on the sight line of Temple E was prohibited.

³⁸⁸ This is known from the cutting on the upper surface of the drum that indicates the position of the statue’s right weight-bearing foot. Laird, ‘Emperor in a Roman Town’, p. 78-81.

³⁸⁹ Laird, ‘Emperor in a Roman Town’, p. 91.

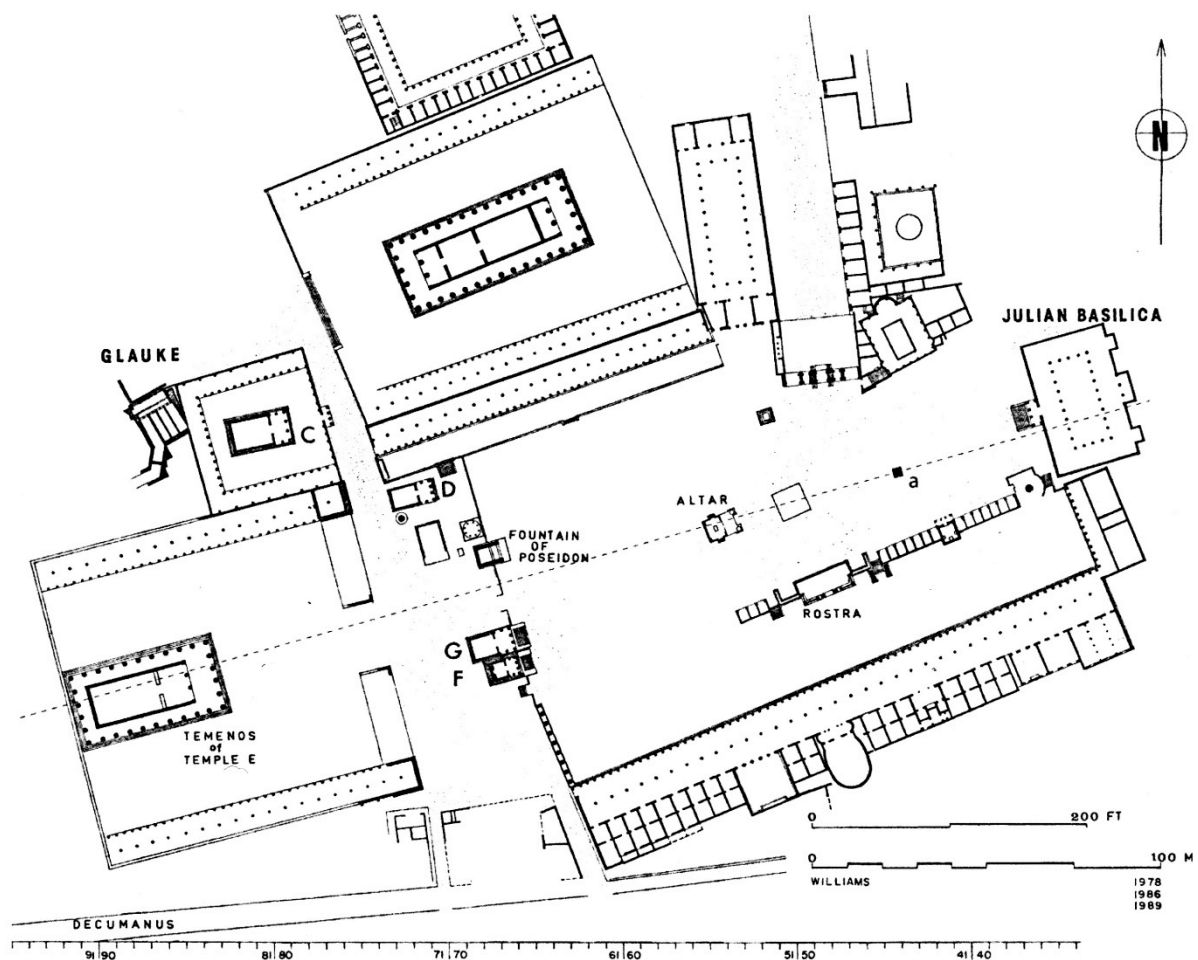


Fig. 3-2 Forum at Corinth in the mid-first century CE (©Koninklijke Brill)³⁹⁰

As above, the extant base of the Augustales shows that the statue was erected during the first century CE in a significant site of the Forum, in the sense that it was the location that had the strongest association with the imperial cult in the public area. Susan Alcock explains the space of the imperial cult in general in relation to its function; the reason why the location of the imperial sanctuary was in the urban centre, and not, for example, on the top of the hill or in the rural field, was that its geographical position had important roles. Three observations can be made in relation to the Corinthian case. While the space for the imperial cult was a landmark of the city, it was also a significant area for displaying honorific monuments. In this sense, the unofficial public area in front of the imperial sanctuary in the Corinthian Forum had an important purpose. The uniquely designed

³⁹⁰ Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', p. 87, Fig. 4.7.

bench which surrounded four sides of the base in question clearly demonstrates its public use. It may not be a coincidence that the wear on the step on the west side is extensive—the foot of the statue was possibly a popular gathering site, and the best location to watch the imperial ceremonies taking place at the temples on the west side.³⁹¹ In any case, the function of the area was that it publicly demonstrated loyalty to the emperor and it visually promoted a public spontaneous response to the imperial cult.³⁹² The Augustales who erected the statue were among those who most actively took part in competitions and festivals for the imperial cult.

Secondly, the following evidence may offer the possibility of another function of the imperial cultic space. An inscription from Hyampolis in Phocis is important in the sense that it testifies to the practice of manumission in front of an imperial statue.³⁹³ The inscription is from the Trajan period but it is entirely conceivable that slaves were emancipated in a similar manner in Corinth during the first century. Slaves in general could have been freed informally; however, legal procedure was required to check if the slave met the legal conditions in order to obtain Roman citizenship.³⁹⁴ The important practice was that a slave was emancipated in the presence of a magistrate by the touch of his rod, which represented the authority of *imperium* (*manumissio vindicta*),³⁹⁵ and this is considered to be the most common procedure during the Principate.³⁹⁶ In addition, an imperial manumission tax

³⁹¹ Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', pp. 95-7 and 112-3.

³⁹² Hoskins Walbank, 'Evidence for the Imperial Cult', p. 211.

³⁹³ *IG IX. I. 86* (Hyampolis in Phocis). It is not certain whether this was modelled after the Greek manumission, which was often practised in front of a Greek deity, as in Delphi, which is not far from Hyampolis.

For the evidence in Delphi: *Fouilles de Delphes*, 3,6, no. 36. Cf. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*, p. 46; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (tr. L. Strachan; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1965), esp. pp. 319-23.

³⁹⁴ I.e. *Lex Fufia Caninia* and *Lex Aelia Sentia*. See 1.1.3 and 1.2.1 for details.

³⁹⁵ Gai., *Inst.*, book 1, 1; 8-55; Cf. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*, p. 50.

An inscription from the colony of Mediolanum (modern Milan), dated after foundation of the colony, suggests that *duoviri* had *imperium* to manumit slaves: *Libero Patri / C(aius) Albinus C(ai) f(ilius) / Ou(fentia) Optatus / Ilvir [i(ure)] d(icundo) man(umittendi) / pot(estate)* (*AE* 1947, 47); provided that the reconstruction of *man(umittendi)* is correct. Barja de Quiroga, 'Junian Latins', p. 158-9 (esp. n. 65). Flexsenhar, 'No Longer a Slave', pp. 67-8.

³⁹⁶ See 1.2.1 and 5.2.3 for details.

had to be collected (*vicesima libertatis*).³⁹⁷ Thus, it is more likely that the process took place in the civic council office in the Forum. At the same time, it is entirely reasonable to anticipate that the slave's freedom was declared in a public place (an analogy may be drawn from the Greek tradition in which the manumission of slaves was proclaimed at a performance of Greek tragedy).³⁹⁸ Since the Roman procedures without doubt had an imperial emphasis, it may well be that slaves were taken before the imperial temple, whether on the premises of the temple or in the unofficial public area, where their freedom was declared and Roman citizenship bestowed on them in front of the Roman imperial deity and the people. It may well be that the new freedperson who received great favour from the emperor aspired next to join the Augustales.

Thirdly, Alcock, explaining that the imperial cult was an urban activity, states that it 'was important, not only to demonstrate an individual's or a city's loyalty to the emperor, but to broadcast the message to other cities as well'.³⁹⁹ This explanation possibly ties in with the fact that the noble Greeks from other cities start to appear in the onomastic evidence of municipal offices in Corinth during and after the forties CE.⁴⁰⁰ Thus, it may be possible to state that the mid first century CE was the time when the imperial sacred space in Corinth began to have a strong influence upon the people, to the extent that it attracted many from surrounding cities in Achaea.

In addition to the extant base, epigraphic evidence also attests to the Augustales' existence in Corinth. The evidence of the Augustales in Corinth is smaller than in some other cities, such as Herculaneum in Campania where 450 names of Augustales were found; however, it is still possible to grasp a picture of their social standing in Roman society. Four names of Augustales are known whose inscriptions belong to the first two centuries CE, as defined by their letterforms.⁴⁰¹ Among these four, two of the epigraphs are of freedmen and two are uncertain; the only Augustalis whose date is certain

³⁹⁷ On *vicesima libertatis*, see 1.1.2, under 'The population of freedpersons in the first century BCE'.

³⁹⁸ Aeschin., 3.41.

³⁹⁹ Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 199.

⁴⁰⁰ See 2.3.3 for details.

⁴⁰¹ Q. Cispuleius Q. l. Primus: West, p. 60, no. 77; ([---] l. Q[---]): West, p. 53, no. 69; Ti. Claudius Stephanus: *CIL* 3.6099; Cn. Cornelis Speratus: Kent, p. 32, no. 52. Cf. Laird, 'Emperor in a Roman Town', pp. 73-4.

is Q. Cispuleius Q. l. Primus, who lived during the Tiberian period.⁴⁰² The inscription shows his title: ‘*Augustalis Ti. Caesaris Augusti* (Augustalis of Tiberius Caesar Augustus)’. This evidence is important in the sense that it indicates that the Augustales of Tiberius existed during Tiberius’ lifetime, demonstrating the groups’ association with the living emperor. The inscription also suggests his association with the elites as well as his son’s social advancement; the inscription shows that the individual who honoured Q. Cispuleius Primus was C. Novius Felix. According to West, Felix belonged to the family of Corinthian *duovir* Novius Bassus; furthermore, Q. Cispuleius Primus’s son, Q. Cispuleius Theophilus, was bestowed decurional and aedilician ornament.⁴⁰³

Thus, the evidence above shows that the Augustales in Corinth were strongly engaged in the political life of the city. Q. Cispuleius Primus’s case was possibly not an isolated one. Steven E. Ostrow, in the course of explaining the origin of the Augustales, stresses the ‘psycho-socio-political’ aspect of freedmen, and states that, for wealthy freedmen, being disbarred permanently from the political life in their society was a ‘painful experience’.⁴⁰⁴ Although he does not comment on people’s *philotimia*, love and lust for honour, which were deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people in antiquity, it is possibly true that those freedmen who were economically successful experienced distress at not being able to gain social honour.⁴⁰⁵

However, one may also wonder whether the freedmen in Corinth experienced this type of struggle, since archaeological evidence in Corinth shows that freedmen were, in fact, able to hold offices of municipal posts, as discussed above.⁴⁰⁶ Freedmen were, in theory, able to participate in *cursus honorum* in Corinth, and wealthy freedmen did not necessarily have to become members of the

⁴⁰² West, p. 60, no. 77, and pp. 87-8, no. 107.

⁴⁰³ Alternatively, Primus may have been a freedman of Theophilus. West, pp. 60-1, no. 77; For Theophilus, see West, pp. 87-8, no. 107. Cf. Laird, ‘Emperor in a Roman Town’, pp. 74-5.

⁴⁰⁴ Ostrow, “Augustales” along the Bay of Naples’, pp. 70-1.

⁴⁰⁵ See, Jon E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Ancient World* (Oxford: OUP, 1997): on social honour, see chapter 2, Honour and Influence in the Roman World, pp. 30-106; on *philotimia*, see, p. 86-89 (esp. p. 86 n. 272); and Carlin A. Barton, *Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001): on contest culture during the Republic and early Empire, see part 1 (chapters 3 and 4, pp. 29-130). Barton articulates how ‘contests’ affected the Romans socially and psychologically.

⁴⁰⁶ See 2.1.2 for details.

Augustales in order to enjoy political life. It would be plausible to assume that in Corinth there was intense competition to become municipal officers, and, thus, the Augustales provided one of the routes to gain social status.

Furthermore, it may be important to take into account the fact that the social situation shifted according to the different stages of colonization; the number of members of the higher social strata possibly increased on several occasions, as discussed in Chapter 2.⁴⁰⁷ For example, it is evident that there was an influx of the Romans, including the elites, as the city became a senatorial province in 27 BCE.⁴⁰⁸ Another instance is that there was incoming migration of noble Greeks from other Greek cities after the forties CE, as mentioned above. It is thought that this was the time when the hostility of the Greeks from surrounding cities towards the Romans had begun to soften. Consequently, these groups are thought to have blocked the *cursus honorum* for freedmen. In other words, it is more likely that Roman ex-slaves in Corinth were able to enjoy their regained political life mainly during the re-building period of the colony. However, by the mid first century CE, their freedom was again constrained by the changes in social structures, especially by the influxes of people into the higher social strata. This situation possibly motivated wealthy freedmen even more to join the Augustales. The epigraphic evidence suggests that the Augustales in Corinth seem to have survived at least until the Hadrianic period.⁴⁰⁹

3.2 Greek loyalty to the Roman emperor

The question of how Greeks responded to the imperial cult is fundamental in understanding the situation under the Roman rule both in the colonies and in the non-colonial cities. Furthermore, it is also important to clarify their perception of imperial power—the motivations behind people's loyalty will be the focus of this section. It is generally thought that Greeks were used to being ruled by

⁴⁰⁷ See 2.1.2 for details.

⁴⁰⁸ For the evidence of Corinth being the capital city of the province of Achaëa, see the following literary evidence, in addition to Acts 18.12-17: Apul., *Metamorphoses*, 10.18; Malalas, *Chronikon*, 10, s3ww261; Aelius Aristides, *For Poseidon*, 27. Cf. Engels, *Roman Corinth*, p. 199, n. 41.

⁴⁰⁹ The dating is based on the letterforms (Kent, p. 34, no. 59). Taylor discusses the reorganization of the Augustales in general under Trajan. Lily Ross Taylor, 'Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: A Chronological Study', *TAPhA* 45 (1914), pp. 231-253, (242-4).

foreign rulers, and that resistance rarely led to war; thus, there was no significant changes in Greek society except in the colonies during the period of Roman rule.⁴¹⁰ However, it is also important to examine the evidence of Greek hostility towards Roman rule. In the first part below, an outline will be provided of their attitude to the Romans along with a social and historical overview. In the second part, Greek understanding of the ruler-cult will be explored. It is said that their tradition of the ruler-cult affected their subjection to the emperor; this will be examined in order to elucidate its influence. The examination will provide a basis for understanding the motivation behind Greek attitudes towards the imperial cult, and the question of whether their loyalty was solely a response chosen for diplomatic reasons will be discussed.

3.2.1 Greek reaction toward Roman rule

It is thought that the Romans did not Romanize the Greeks with their civilization since they generally esteemed Greek culture, especially that of the Greek past.⁴¹¹ Conversely, Greeks were, in Glen W. Bowersock's words, 'learning how to be a museum',⁴¹² in the sense that local Greek elites accepted Roman ideology that favoured the 'old' Greece, such as the cultures of Athens and Sparta.⁴¹³ Therefore, the relationships between Greeks and Romans were different from relations with the Western Empire.⁴¹⁴ For this reason, there seems to have been less conflict than in some parts of the empire, where, as Cassius Dio notes, 'not a few cities rebelled' and 'many wars took place' (this was

⁴¹⁰ See Goodman for the general view: M. Goodman, *The Roman World: 44 BC-AD 180* (London: Routledge, 2012 [first published 1997]), pp. 256-7. Scholars such as Alcock and Gregory are against the generalized idea that the Roman East did not change. Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 2; Alcock refers to T. Gregory, 'Cities and social evolution in Roman and Byzantine south-east Europe', in *European Social Evolution* (ed. J.L. Bintliff; Bradford: Univ. Bradford, Dept. of Archaeol., 1984), p. 268.

⁴¹¹ A.H.M. Jones, 'The Greeks under the Roman Empire', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), pp. 1-19 (3).

⁴¹² Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 91.

⁴¹³ A.J.S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-3. Spawforth refers to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill who further explains this as a 'cardiac model': that is, Rome sucked in the culture of typical 'old' Greece and diffused this to both the East and the West; in this manner, Rome became a source of (re-)Hellenization. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 27 and 361.

⁴¹⁴ Jones, 'Greeks', pp. 3-4.

the case up to 6 CE).⁴¹⁵ Thus, it is first important to grasp a picture of social and historical aspects of Greeks under Roman rule.

The first contact with the Romans came in 197 BC, when the Achaean league accepted Roman support in order to be free from Macedonian rule; it was only later that they realized that the Roman intervention was far more forcible than that of the Hellenistic power, and the destruction of Corinth was likely to be perceived as an exemplary punishment. Thus, it is natural that the Greeks were hostile to Rome at the beginning of the Principate. Nonetheless, it is generally thought that Greeks were used to being ruled by powerful monarchs;⁴¹⁶ people learned subservience instead of open opposition to the ruling power.⁴¹⁷ According to Martin Goodman, there was no major resistance that turned into war against Roman rule (although he does not seem to count the protest against heavy Roman taxation in Achaia and Macedonia in 15 CE).⁴¹⁸ Possibly, a small number of legionary garrisons placed in Macedonia alone among all the eastern provinces attests to the fact that there were no major wars.⁴¹⁹ It appears the garrisons were placed largely as a defence against possible attack from Thracian tribes from the north. Furthermore, the Roman army in Greece did not seem to have a strong influence in terms of Romanization since it was mostly recruited locally.⁴²⁰ Thus, it is most likely that Rome did not have to station a large number of troops in order to keep peace in Greece.

The political structure of Achaia changed during the Roman period. Achaia was separated from Macedonia in 27 BCE and a proconsul of praetorian rank became the governor of the province until 67 CE. However, for the reason mentioned above, between 15 and 44 CE, Achaia was a part of Moesia together with Macedonia and was governed by the imperial legate. Furthermore, it was Nero's

⁴¹⁵ *History of Rome*, 55.28.1 and 2.

⁴¹⁶ I.e. Lydian, Persian and Macedonian.

⁴¹⁷ E.g. Goodman, *Roman World*, pp. 256-7.

⁴¹⁸ Goodman, *Roman World*, p. 255. According to Tacitus, this protest was the reason why Tiberius placed Achaia and Macedonia under the control of the imperial legate in Moesia (Tac., *Ann.*, 1.79).

⁴¹⁹ It is said that there were possibly two garrisons in Macedonia. Goodman, *Roman World*, p. 255. The 'eastern provinces' are Achaia, Macedonia, Pontus and Bithynia, and Asia.

⁴²⁰ Jones refers to H.M.D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Oxford: Ares Publishers Inc., 1980 [first published 1928]), p. 169. A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City: From Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 63 n. 83.

character that made him proclaim Greece's freedom in 67 CE, which was soon withdrawn in 70 CE by Vespasian.⁴²¹ These political changes may not seem to have had a substantial effect on every province, more pressing were issues such as high taxation which caused much resistance of the people against high taxation.⁴²²

The economy of mainland Greece was stagnant during the Principate. This was partly a consequence of the trade with other Mediterranean regions that made it possible to import products such as wine and oil that were cheaper than those from local regions. In contrast to the Roman colonies, there was depopulation in Arcadia, Messenia and Laconia.⁴²³ Strabo states that in Laconia, people used to talk of a 'country of a hundred cities', but there remained only thirty when he visited (8.4.11), and some towns in Boeotia remained 'nothing but names' (9.2.25). In explaining the consequences of intermittent wars over the period on the cities in Arcadia, he refers to a poet's comment: 'The Great City (Megalopolis) is a great desert' (8.8.1). Given that Strabo's report demonstrates the presence of Greek cities, it must have been unrealistic to mobilize people for resistance to Roman rule.⁴²⁴

From this brief overview of mainland Greece under the Roman rule, what seems important is that it must not be taken for granted that Greeks were always accustomed to being ruled by a foreign power. To be sure, there was not a major revolt against Rome throughout the Roman period, but their attitudes were not constantly submissive and subservient. For example, despite their significantly weakened forces there was a large protest against heavy Roman taxation in 15 CE, to the extent that it led Rome to restructure its provincial political regions, as mentioned above. In addition, there is evidence that demonstrates the unarmed resistance of the subject people.

Cassius Dio writes that, on the occasion of Augustus' visit to Athens in 21 BCE, he imposed two economic sanctions on the Athenians: they were deprived both of the right to sell Athenian

⁴²¹ The year in which Vespasian withdrew the freedom could have been 74 CE. Goodman, *Roman World*, p. 255.

⁴²² The protest against the taxation in Achaia and Macedonia was recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.*, 1.79).

⁴²³ *Geography*: for Arcadia: 8.8.1; Messenia and Laconia: 8.4.11; and Boeotia: 9.2.5.

⁴²⁴ In addition, it is less likely that a new voluntary association would emerge in such conditions.

citizenship to foreigners and of their sovereignty over Aigina and Eretria (i.e., the right to receive tributes from them).⁴²⁵ Dio explains that these sanctions were the response to Athenian attitudes towards the emperor, since the Athenians had supported Antony against Julius Caesar and Augustus. However, many also thought that this was because of one curious incident that had happened to the statue of Athena on the Acropolis: Athena, who was the Athenians' protector and patron deity, 'had turned around to the west and spat blood' (54.7.2-3).⁴²⁶ Dio does not explain the situation in detail, but what is clear is that there had been an incident that involved the statue of Athena which insulted Rome and the emperor.⁴²⁷ The passage shows the anti-Roman sentiment of the Athenians during this time. It may also be said that their Greek religious identity served to express their resistance to imperial rule, whether or not they took any violent measures.⁴²⁸

To be sure, the incident occurred at the early stage of the Principate, thus it is understandable that Greek resistance was stronger than in the later period when people gradually accepted Roman rule. However, it can be said that Greek identity was maintained throughout the Roman period: accepting and being accustomed to Roman rule did not mean that their Greek cultural pride had diminished. For example, literary evidence shows that the Greeks did not feel that their civilization was inferior to that of Rome; this is exemplified by evidence that demonstrates the development of Greek intellectual culture mainly in the second and third centuries CE.⁴²⁹ This is partly because the Roman emperors and elites wished to keep the 'old' Greek culture; thus, they were permitted to express their cultural pride, especially when Rome adopted a policy of Philhellenism; however, this

⁴²⁵ On the other hand, he bestowed the control of the island of Kythera on Sparta in the same year.

⁴²⁶ 'But from the Athenians he took away Aegina and Eretria, from which they received tribute, because, as some say, they had espoused the cause of Antony; and he furthermore forbade them to make anyone a citizen for money. And it seemed to them that the thing which had happened to the statue of Athena was responsible for this misfortune; for this statue on the Acropolis, which was placed to face the east, had turned around to the west and spat blood" (trans. E. Cary; LCL).

⁴²⁷ M. Hoff, 'Civil disobedience and unrest in Augustan Athens', *Hesperia* 59 (1989), pp. 267-76 (269).

⁴²⁸ Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 214.

⁴²⁹ E.g., Goodman refers to scholars such as Whitmarsh and Bowie: T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); E.L. Bowie, 'The Greeks and their past in the second Sophistic', *Past and Present* 46 (1970), pp. 3-41. Cf. Goodman, *Roman World*, p. 258, esp. n. 10.

was only possible when they themselves retained their traditional Greek cultural identity throughout the period of the Roman rule.⁴³⁰

As shown above, the Greeks maintained a strong sense of pride in their cultural identity, despite their loss of economic and political power and it would be fallacious to assume that there was no tension in the province. Within this social and historical context, the question as to how Greeks responded to the imperial cult needs to be ascertained. The ways in which Greek understanding of the ruler-cult affected their attitudes towards Rome will be explored below.

3.2.2 The ruler-cult and Greek perception of the imperial cult

Before exploring the Greek perception of the imperial cult, it is first important to understand briefly the Roman policy of the imperial cult in relation to their treatment of Greek traditions. The Romans were, according to Peter Garnsey, ‘on the whole tolerant of local cults as long as they did not become a focus of disturbance and rebellion’,⁴³¹ and moreover, they treated Greek deities respectfully.⁴³² There is a piece of evidence that Augustus stipulated that the imperial cult would be modest enough to suit the tradition of the Greeks, such as the custom of a shared cult with a Greek deity.⁴³³ This is consistent with the evidence from Corinthian coinage, as discussed in Chapter 2. In the context of visual imagery, the Romans utilized Greek cults which were an essential part of many aspects of Corinthian identity; that is, to connect the cult with the Greek mythical past. This type of policy was based on their relationships with the Greeks from the republican era.⁴³⁴ Certainly, Bowersock notes that Augustus inherited the late republican cults which had already established the diplomatic ties

⁴³⁰ E.g. Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 17.

⁴³¹ To be precise, Garnsey’s comment is regarding the Roman policy over Africa. However, considering the fact that the Romans treated Greek deities respectfully, his point may not be irrelevant in the Roman East. P. Garnsey, *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (eds. P. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker; Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 223-54 (253).

⁴³² Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 213.

⁴³³ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 116. For example, ‘shared cult with Roma’ (Suet., *Aug.*, 52) (Tac., *Ann.*, 4.37); for coinage: Price, *Rituals and Power*, plate 2b.

⁴³⁴ To be precise, the relationship between Rome and Corinth was an exceptional case, since Corinth was destroyed by Rome. Thus, Roman rule over Corinth was not based on that of the past, but was started in a new manner.

between Rome and the East.⁴³⁵

On the other hand, Greeks also accepted the imperial cult themselves and it was incorporated into their traditional cultic framework. This did not mean that the new ruler was accepted as an ‘inferior version’ of the Greek ‘divine’ kings. On the contrary, the emperors were, in many cases, honoured as ‘great gods’, as will be discussed below. To be sure, there was some resistance, especially during the early stage of the Principate⁴³⁶ (perhaps because the traditions of their ancestral myths were not wholly consistent with the imperial cult). For example, in the imperial cult, the birthday of Augustus had a connotation of the beginning of all things,⁴³⁷ an idea with which the Greeks must have struggled in relation to their mythical traditions. However, although there was discontinuity, the imperial cult was significant in the sense that it could ‘evoke’ their ancestral myths.⁴³⁸ The Greeks too ‘represented the emperor to themselves in the familiar terms of divine power’.⁴³⁹ In this manner, the new ruler was worshipped in a way that was acceptable to the peoples of both the Greek provinces and Rome.⁴⁴⁰

The ‘function’ of state cults, in terms of loyalty to the ruler, has also been noted by scholars. For example, H. Gesche notes that the divinization of the Roman emperor helped to legitimize his rule,⁴⁴¹ and A. D. Nock expressed the view that Greek royal cults served to ‘sugar the pill of

⁴³⁵ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 115.

⁴³⁶ One may wonder whether the resistance that was expressed through the statue of Athena in 21 BCE was a ‘religious resistance’. That is, religion in general often becomes a force for conflict, especially when the people of one religion are forced to ‘convert’ to another. Under such circumstances, whether the native people revolt openly, or maintain a form of underground cult, their religion becomes a symbol of resistance. This is not difficult to imagine when we consider, for example, the Jewish revolts. It is also reported that, in the Roman province in Africa, the cultic resistance was persistent largely because of the Africans’ belief in local deities. (Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p.213, p. 258, n.58.) However, this type of ‘religious resistance’ was not the case in Athens; this is possibly due to the nature of the tradition of Greek cults.

⁴³⁷ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 241.

⁴³⁸ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 239.

⁴³⁹ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 248.

⁴⁴⁰ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 239.

⁴⁴¹ Price, *Rituals and Power*, (p. 241, n. 22) refers to H. Gesche, ‘Die Divinisierung der römischen Kaiser in ihrer Funktion als Herrschaftslegitimation’, *Chiron* 8 (1978), p. 377.

eminently unpopular measures.’⁴⁴² In other words, according to these studies, the cult of the ruler functioned to consolidate the social pyramid. Price is one of the scholars who disagree with the view that focuses on the ‘functionalist explanation’.⁴⁴³ In one of his points, he refers to Tertullian’s comment in the second century CE that the imperial cult did not necessarily stop people from committing treason (*Apology*, 35). Price thus adds that the imperial cult was not necessarily a ‘bullet-proof vest’ for the emperor.⁴⁴⁴ However, his primary point is that a fundamental problem underlies the views that generalize the ‘function’ of the imperial cult. He argues that the researchers who draw such conclusions take the risk of using language ‘that regards power, rule, function, and legitimation as unproblematic categories’.⁴⁴⁵ In any case, it is true that people in the provinces did not worship and obey the emperor simply because they feared Roman military rule. This is clear when considering the loyalty of the people of those provinces where the stationing of Roman legions is absent from certain cities.⁴⁴⁶ Rather, overall, there was spontaneous acceptance of the imperial cult among the Greeks.

It is, therefore, important for the purpose of this study to explore the reason behind their attitudes. Although it is difficult to distinguish the modern concept of religion and politics in antiquity, two aspects of the imperial cult are worth exploring: the ‘dignified’ and the ‘efficient’ aspects.⁴⁴⁷ It is said that modern historians have tended to emphasize the latter; their view has been that diplomacy and administration were the main purpose for worshipping the emperor. For example, Bowersock’s study in 1965 emphasized the rather rational view of the Greek response to the imperial cult, arguing that it was for diplomatic reasons that they worshipped the emperor.⁴⁴⁸ However, Price cautions that it would be a mistake to discuss the imperial cult and diplomacy separately. This is because the cultic

⁴⁴² Price refers to Nock; A.D. Nock, *Syllabus of Gifford Lectures* (Aberdeen: The University of Aberdeen: 1939), p. 9; Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 241, n. 21.

⁴⁴³ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 241.

⁴⁴⁴ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 240.

⁴⁴⁵ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 241.

⁴⁴⁶ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 242.

⁴⁴⁷ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 239.

⁴⁴⁸ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 115.

language is used precisely in the context of diplomacy. For example, the language can be seen when the ambassadors of the provincial cities approached the emperor; they promised to offer ‘divine honours’ to the emperor so that the city would receive benefactions and privileges.⁴⁴⁹ The ambassadors were also, in many cases, priests of the imperial cult.⁴⁵⁰ When they received a favour, they would also honour the emperor in divine terms; the evidence shows that Augustus, Gaius and Hadrian were deified, being called ‘a great god’.⁴⁵¹ This attitude of the provincial cities is possibly consistent with the fact that the image of Augustus was increasingly employed in the local civic coinage as a mark of honour even though, as noted above, there was no obligation to do so.⁴⁵² However, a central question was the emperor’s ‘deification.’ It may well be that the identification of a living ruler with a god was a familiar idea for the Greeks since they had suffered from foreign rule that claimed divine power on many occasions.⁴⁵³ The question as to whether the concept of this identification was an accustomed tradition from the past may shed light on the nature of their loyalty to Rome. An overview of the tradition of the ruler-cult will be discussed below.

The ruler-cult

To explore the roots of the ruler-cult in Greece, it may be relevant to go back to the time of Alexander the Great. There seems to be some ambiguity as to whether his deification took place during his lifetime;⁴⁵⁴ it is often said that the uncertainty is partly responsible for the difficulty of distinguishing

⁴⁴⁹ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 243, n.31.

⁴⁵⁰ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 243, n.29.

⁴⁵¹ Augustus: *IGR* IV 39 (Mytilene), ‘deify him even more’; Gaius: *IGR* IV 145 (Cyzicus), ‘εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τηλικούτου θεοῦ εὐρεῖν ἴσας ἀμοιβὰς οἷς εὐηργέτηνται μὴ δυναμένων, (They ... were not able to find appropriate ways of repaying their benefactions to express their gratitude to such a great god)’; Hadrian: *F. Delphes* III 4, no. 304 (Delphi), ‘Having known perfectly well for a long time that it was as such a great god (ὡς θεὸς τηλικού[τος]) that you have assured for ever everything whose realization you have seen to for our city...’; cf. Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 243-4, n.31, 33, 34 (the above translations are by Price).

⁴⁵² Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus’, *JRS* 76 (1986), pp. 66-87 (72); Ostrow, ‘Augustales in the Augustan Scheme’, p. 367.

⁴⁵³ The imperial cult was in most of the major cities in Achaea. Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 181-2.

⁴⁵⁴ There is evidence, such as coinage, that Alexander is depicted with a symbol of a god. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament: History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*, (Vol. 1, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1987[1982]), pp. 34, 37.

whether the worship was ‘to’ or ‘for’ the ruler.⁴⁵⁵ According to Helmut Koester, Alexander’s divine veneration was not institutionalized during his lifetime although Alexander sought deification,⁴⁵⁶ but in some Greek cities he was worshipped as a divine ruler before his death. He saw himself initially as an ‘imitator’ of Hercules; however, later, there seems to be a gradual change in his image as he conquered foreign lands. For example, in Egypt, he took on the role of king and sought legitimation as a ‘son’ of an Egyptian deity.⁴⁵⁷ Thus, his kingship was not built purely on his idea of Macedonian and Greek traditions but on a combination with oriental traditions.

After Alexander’s reign, his successors, the Diadochi, were also paid honours in Greek cities,⁴⁵⁸ despite the fact that they did not overtly solicit for their cults to be established (for the reason that there was some caution in following in the footsteps of Alexander). On the other hand, the Diadochi strongly promoted Alexander’s cult: temples and sanctuaries were built for this purpose and the cult continued for several years.⁴⁵⁹ Thus, it is important to note that the significant development of the ruler-cult occurred after Alexander’s era;⁴⁶⁰ his successors’ encounter with the traditions of the Pharaohs of Egypt and the Persian Kings brought them significant elements and rewards of the ruler-cult.

In Egypt, there was a tradition that the Pharaoh was believed to be an incarnation of the

⁴⁵⁵ F.W. Walbank refers to ‘typical ambiguity’: F.W. Walbank, ‘Chapter 3: Monarchies and monarchic Ideas’ in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 7 Pt. 1 (eds., F. W. Walbank, A. E. Astin, M. W. Frederiksen, R. M. Ogilvie; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 62-100 (87).

⁴⁵⁶ However, there is debatable evidence: for example, Alexander attempted to introduce a practice of oriental ruler-adoration in Bactria in 327 BCE; and Alexander’s letters to the Greek cities in 324 BCE that demanded to worship him as a deity (however, the source is said to be from later period); cf. Koester, *Introduction*, p. 34.

⁴⁵⁷ Koester, *Introduction*, p. 34

⁴⁵⁸ The clearest evidence of this (‘most obvious’) comes from Athens, where people honoured Demetrius Poliocreates. Koester, *Introduction*, p. 34.

⁴⁵⁹ However, Koester considers that the cult of Alexander is ‘not directly responsible’ for the Hellenistic ruler-cult. Koester, *Introduction*, p. 34.

⁴⁶⁰ This is not to deny that Alexander had already been influenced by the foreign cultic traditions; Taylor states that it is evident that Alexander encountered cult practices that worshipped the ruler as a saint in Persia and formal custom of the Pharaoh as a deity in Egypt. L.R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975 [1931]), p. 6.

gods.⁴⁶¹ Pharaoh was a god ‘simply because he was the Pharaoh’.⁴⁶² He ruled the people because he possessed the nature of divinity. In other words, having the same form of divinity was the only way for foreign conquerors to rule the land of Egypt. In this sense, it was crucial for the Ptolemies from Macedonia to inherit and consolidate this tradition and it was in the time of Ptolemy the Second that the ruler-cult was officially instituted (following the death of his father Ptolemy I, he established a ruler cult of the founder of the dynasty and his wife Berenice and worshipped them as saviour gods). Furthermore, he later included himself and his wife as divine members of the cult to be worshipped.⁴⁶³ This deification of the ruler during their lifetime was historically significant in the sense that it transcended the conventions of the Greek ruler cult. This new practice was continued,⁴⁶⁴ and it further developed during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (reigned 221–205 BCE), who declared that he was a descendant of Dionysus, and the symbol of the ivy leaf was tattooed on his body (3 Macc. 2.28ff). In addition, evidence shows that he was also depicted as Helios, Zeus, and Poseidon.⁴⁶⁵

A similar phenomenon can also be seen in the Seleucid Empire. In Persia, there was the idea of an oriental court ceremony which people believed elevated the Persian king to the highest position among all his subjects;⁴⁶⁶ every word of the king was divine law. However, unlike the Pharaohs, they were not considered as gods. This was also true of the kings of the Assyrians or the Neo-Babylonians who were the immediate predecessors of the Persians; they considered themselves mortal kings.⁴⁶⁷ Lily R. Taylor explains that the position of the Persian kings was similar to that of ‘saints’ rather than of gods.⁴⁶⁸ After their death, they were venerated, but not as gods. For example, Cyrus, the founder of

⁴⁶¹ Taylor, *Divinity*, p. 4.

⁴⁶² Koester, *Introduction*, p. 33.

⁴⁶³ Koester, *Introduction*, p. 35.

⁴⁶⁴ For example, the divine title of Ptolemy V (204–181 BCE) in the Rosetta stone is well known.

⁴⁶⁵ Koester, *Introduction*, p. 35; In the second edition of this book (published 1995, p. 38), Koester adds that Ptolemy IV appears on coinage wearing ‘the radiate crown of Helios, the aegis of Zeus, and the trident of Poseidon’ after his death, and thus, Ptolemy IV is identified as ‘the ruler of the sky, the earth, and the sea’.

⁴⁶⁶ Koester, *Introduction*, p. 33.

⁴⁶⁷ Taylor, *Divinity*, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁸ Taylor, *Divinity*, p. 3.

the dynasty, received sacrifices which were performed by magi who protected his tomb and his cults. Interestingly, Alexander is said to have restored Cyrus' tomb after it had been plundered, and the cult is said to have survived until the Roman era.⁴⁶⁹ The form of the cult of Cyrus is likely to have been similar to that of the Greek hero cults which worshipped the dead. Nonetheless, according to Taylor, there is no known evidence that the Persian kings received the title of heavenly gods.⁴⁷⁰ However, there was a development of the ruler-cult during the Hellenistic period by the Seleucid kings. For example, the people worshipped the cult of Antiochus III (reigned 222–187 BC) while he was still living, and the cult was closely associated with Zeus and Apollo. Thus, by the beginning of the second century BCE, the identification of a living ruler with traditional Greek deities had already become an accustomed practice.

Thus, it seems clear that Alexander and his successors developed the ruler-cult in the course of conquering foreign territory and ruling the people of that land.⁴⁷¹ It is worth noting that, in Greece, people established a ruler cult for themselves;⁴⁷² at the same time, this tendency to worship the kings was less evident in Macedonia proper compared to those areas of Greece where people were ruled by Macedonia.⁴⁷³

Koester presents an additional element of the development of Greek thought:⁴⁷⁴ during the time of crisis in Greece when the polis had become dysfunctional, from the end of the 5th century to the beginning of the 4th century BCE, Greek philosophers had the idea regarding their ruler that peace, order and prosperity could only be restored by 'a divinely gifted individual'. It is said that this concept can be seen in the thoughts of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Thus, the idea existed even before Alexander the Great, and influenced the thoughts of the Greeks in such a way that the divinity of the

⁴⁶⁹ Taylor, *Divinity*, p. 4.

⁴⁷⁰ Taylor, *Divinity*, p. 4.

⁴⁷¹ Taylor, *Divinity*, p. ix.

⁴⁷² In Greece, the imperial cult was also seen as a dynastic cult. It is said that the family of the emperor received divine honours in some occasions when they travelled to the East. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 118.

⁴⁷³ Taylor, *Divinity*, p. 33; Koester, *Introduction*, p. 35.

⁴⁷⁴ Koester, *Introduction*, p. 33.

ruler, unlike that of the Pharaoh, depended on the ruler's excellence. This sentiment of the Greeks may have affected the people in the sense that to affirm their ruler's divinity was conditional.

As shown above, the idea of deification of a living king and his identification with a traditional god was not a new practice for either the rulers or the Greeks during the Roman era; in Rome, it was natural for the Roman ruler to assert their divinity, as it was for Julius Caesar to claim that his successor Octavian was a son of Apollo.⁴⁷⁵ It may well be that, for Greeks, the divinity was not absolute, but conditional. The following evidence may support this point. In the description of Pausanias' visit to Elis, he observed a ruined temple without a roof or any deified image; he further comments that this old sanctuary had been dedicated to the Roman emperors (6.24.10). It is difficult to specify for how long the cult had been neglected, except for the fact that his visit was in the mid second century CE; nonetheless, it may be possible to argue that such evidence of an abandoned temple suggests that Greek loyalty to the imperial cult depended upon particular circumstances.⁴⁷⁶ In addition, this attitude of the Greeks may shed further light on the incident of the statue of Athena which showed Greek resistance against Rome, as mentioned above. Considering the manner in which Athenians treated their statue of Athena, it may be possible to argue that this incident shows the Athenians' (possibly the elites') liberal attitude to their deity, in the sense that they *utilized* their statue of their deity to express their resistance to Rome.

In conclusion, this chapter can be summarized from the point of view of people's loyalty to Rome. The archaeological evidence of the Augustales from the first century CE has enabled us to explore its function in relation to that of the urban imperial centre. The unofficial public area surrounded by the imperial sanctuaries in the Forum was a landmark of the city which strongly promoted loyalty to the emperor. The Augustales' act of loyalty to the emperor was possibly a part of a wider competition in the expression of affiliation with the imperial rule that had become more intense during the first century CE. The increasing population eligible to participate in the *cursus*

⁴⁷⁵ Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 14.

⁴⁷⁶ Alcock refers to Jost. M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Etudes Péloponnésiennes 9; Paris: Ecole Française d'Athènes, 1985), p. 550 ('de toute évidence le culte avait une signification trop circonstancielle pour avoir un succès durable'); Cf. Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 259, n. 59.

honorum, both from Rome and from neighbouring Greek cities, deprived wealthy freedmen of chances to become municipal officers; this situation consequently made the Augustales more popular among wealthy people from outside the elites. This ambition of the people is also exemplified by the onomastic evidence of the Augustales, which shows the freedmen's eager association with the ruling elites during the Tiberian period. Their existence as well as the statue they erected at the imperial landmark of the city carried a message to their compatriots to provoke a spontaneous response to be 'on their side'.

Thus, the study overall shows that a new social environment had been introduced into Corinth by the mid first century CE not only by the imperial cult itself, but also by the people who supported imperial authority. The significance is that they were from a non-elite background. They possibly urged the people to accept a new social order and promote new loyalties. To some people, they provoked a sense of competition in loyalty to Rome, whereas to others, they became a suppressive force. In this manner, they inevitably brought about divisions and affiliations within society.⁴⁷⁷

In Achaëa, the difference in environment was also created, between those cities where imperial buildings and statues were built and those where they were not. The urban city such as Corinth served as a 'clearing house' that promoted imperial rule.⁴⁷⁸ From the fact that there were notable Greeks from outside Corinth who began to participate in the *cursus honorum* in Corinth during and after the 40s CE, it is possible to consider that not only the loyalists in Corinth but also Greeks from surrounding regions started to participate in this 'imperial competition'. In this sense, the circle of the people who sought imperial affiliation widened from those in Corinth, such as Roman freedpersons who became Augustales, to the aristocratic Greeks from surrounding regions, despite the fact that they were not patronized as freedpersons. At the same time, this widening of people's spontaneous participation possibly indicates that the imperial atmosphere *within* Corinth had already become pervasive by the mid first century CE. What the existence of the Augustales shows therefore, is not the suppressive character of imperial rule, but rather the character of the response from the

⁴⁷⁷ Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 213.

⁴⁷⁸ Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 169.

lower strata to the ruler.

It may be possible to suggest that the nature of people's response to Rome differed between those who experienced Roman slavery and manumission, and those who did not. The patronized character of Roman freedpersons, as discussed in Chapter 1, must have been very different from the character of the ordinary Greeks. At the same time, the evidence shows that the Greeks took pride in their Greek cultural identity, which was expressed in the resistance in the early stage of Roman rule, and in Greek literary work from the late first century CE onwards. This implies that their acceptance of Roman rule did not necessarily lead them to worship the emperor. Their tradition of the ruler-cult possibly influenced them in a liberal way; that is, the participation in the imperial cult was largely diplomatic in purpose. It may not be a coincidence that Pausanias observed a neglected imperial temple in Elis,⁴⁷⁹ which suggests their circumstantial loyalty. However, this is not to state that this was the case for all Greeks, especially for freedpersons. Roman freedpersons were those who were in a state of 'chronic favour debt', having being given 'social birth' by their Roman patron, and ultimately the emperor.⁴⁸⁰ Although it may be difficult to explain the cognitive side of their character, it may not be hard to see that their devotion to the emperor based on this new bond did create in them a sense of religious contentment, which was their primary motive in becoming a member of the Augustales.

⁴⁷⁹ Paus., 6.24.10.

⁴⁸⁰ See 1.2.1 for details.

CHAPTER 4

THE AUTHORITY OVER MANUMISSION:
THE ROMAN UTILIZATION OF THE CULT OF ASCLEPIUS

This chapter focuses on the issue of Greek sacral manumission in the Roman colony of Corinth. Since the Greeks had their conventional practices for emancipating their slaves, it is important to explore whether Greek manumission was permitted in the Roman colony. The question of how the Romans dealt with Greek manumission is an important issue since it was performed under a specific authority. In a society where slavery was an established social system, manumission was not merely a practice that brought change into the relationship between the two individuals, but served to generate and maintain a sense of authority on the part of the patron. There were several ways in which the Greek slaves were publicly manumitted; for example, it could be proclaimed in a theatre, law court, or sanctuary,⁴⁸¹ but in the Roman colonies where Greek civic activity had diminished, the area in which the practice of Greek manumission continued is thought to be the sanctuary of Greek cults.

It is known that the Romans regulated many activities of Greek cults in the colonies. For example, in Urso Spain, the schedule of the Greek cultic festivals was to be permitted and determined according to the calendar of the Roman authorities.⁴⁸² Thus, it is legitimate to consider that any cultic activities in the colony, including sacral manumission, the nature of which has a significant social influence, were similarly under the control of the Roman authorities. This raises a related question concerning the fundamental issue of the balance between the authority of the emperor and that of the Greek deities, since Roman manumission required *imperium* (the authority of Rome) and Greek sacral manumission was performed under the name of a deity. The context of Corinth is unique in this sense

⁴⁸¹ E.g. Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free: The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World*, (Mnemosyne Supplement 266; Leiden: Brill, 2005), especially, chapter2 'Manumission, Diversity and Similarity', pp. 61-129.

⁴⁸² In *lex coloniae genitivae*, which was the statute for the colony of Urso, it is stated that the festivals and the celebration of sacrifices of the cults in the colony required the permission of the *duoviri* and *decuriones*, and the monetary transactions involved were to be reported. Cf. Nancy Bookidis, 'Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.', in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (eds. D.N. Schowalter and S.J. Friesen; Cambridge: HTS, 2005), pp. 141-164 (152). Bookidis refers to M. H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (ed. M. H. Crawford; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996), 1:393-4554, no. 25.

since the Greek cults were resumed by the Romans. It also requires explanation if the Romans intended to associate the emperor with a Greek deity. It is therefore important to elucidate the relationship between the emperor and the Greek deity in the Greek sanctuary, in the hope that this will serve as a fundamental premise for understanding Roman policy over Greek sacral manumission.

This chapter is composed of two sections. The first section explores the question of sacral manumission in Corinth. Among the four Greek cults reestablished by the Romans,⁴⁸³ the cult of Asclepius will be the focus of this study, since it is known that sacral manumission in Greek cities was commonly practiced at the temple of Asclepius. For comparison, the sanctuary of Asclepius in Buthrotum, a Greek city that was colonized by the Romans at the same period as Corinth, will also be investigated. By exploring the archaeological and literary sources, the discussion will focus on the Roman control over the cult of Asclepius in Corinth, and their intention in modifying the cult during the re-founding of the colony. The second section of the chapter discusses the identification of the Roman emperor with the Greek deities, and the relationship between Augustus and Asclepius will also be explored in the light of literary and numismatic sources. The study will also focus on the physical arrangements of the Greek sanctuaries in order to articulate the concepts that the Romans had regarding the depiction of the emperors and Greek deities in the Greek temples. By exploring the evidence from Greek sanctuaries in the Roman East, the study aims to explain the distinct nature of Roman policy over the cult in Corinth. It is hoped that these two sections will shed light on the question of Greek sacral manumission within the context of Roman Corinth, and elucidate the tension between the emperor and the Greek deity that centered on the question of manumission.

4.1 The Roman policy over Greek sacral manumission

4.1.1 The cult of Asclepius in Corinth

It is said that the sanctuaries of Greek cults had become common places for manumission by the Hellenistic period. Evidence can be found from the temples of such as Apollo, Athena, Dionysos, Isis,

⁴⁸³ They were the temple of Apollo, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the sanctuary of Asclepius, and the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth. See 2.3.2 for details.

Sarapis, and Nemesis,⁴⁸⁴ but the cult of Asclepius provides the most evidence. The extant sources show that sacral manumission took place at the sanctuaries of Asclepius in Epidauros, Amphissa, Elatia, Stiris, Tithoria, Orchomenos, Thespirae, Naupactus, Cheronea, Gonnoi, Trichonion, and Buthrotum.⁴⁸⁵ The fact that manumission was associated with Asclepius may be of importance. This is possibly because both the belief in the healing power of Asclepius and sacral manumission were about liberation; the consequence of both healing and emancipation brought dramatic changes to individuals within their cultural milieu.

The study will first survey the cult of Asclepius in Corinth, which is said to have continued through eight centuries with different characteristics being emphasized.⁴⁸⁶ The historical overview will give us a picture of the cult in three main phases: the archaic period, the Hellenistic period and the Roman period, and the study will further explore the date of the resumption of the cult by the Romans. Since Roman Corinth developed dramatically and the condition of the city changed from 44 BCE towards the end of the first century CE, it is crucial to understand the re-establishment of the cult in a wider social context. The timing of the resumption is significant in the sense that it may reflect the policy by which the Romans intended to rule the people of the province.

Historical overview

The cult of Asclepius in Corinth is known for its rich evidence of anatomical votives from the late 5th to the 4th century BCE. The size of the precinct was modest during this period, but the remains of over one hundred terracotta votives that are life-size parts of the body attest to the popularity of and the belief in the cult of healing. As in the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidauros, the smaller scale of the

⁴⁸⁴ A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (tr. Lionel R.M. Strachan; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927), pp. 319-23.

⁴⁸⁵ M. Melfi, 'The Sanctuary of Asclepius', in *Roman Butrint: an assessment* (eds. I.L. Hansen and R. Hodges; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), pp. 17-32 (23). Cf. B.L. Wickkiser, 'Asklepios in Greek and Roman Corinth', in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (ed. Steven Friesen, Dan Schowalter, and James Walters; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁴⁸⁶ The cult of Asclepius in Corinth is thought to have continued from the fifth century BCE to the third century CE. Carl Roebuck, *The Asklepieion and Lerna: Corinth, XIV* (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951), p. 159.

sanctuary does not suggest that the cult was less significant to the people of Corinth.⁴⁸⁷ Rather, it was the belief in healing through the direct power of the deity that greatly attracted people. It can also be inferred that the activity of the cult was confined to the cure of individuals and that its social function was not yet developed. People visited the sanctuary simply hoping that they would meet the god and be healed; there was little monetary transaction involved, as the remains of the meager sanctuary imply. During the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary was renovated as a building on two levels. There was also a development of a waterproof room equipped with a water system, of which the waterworks are said to be the most elaborate among all the known sanctuaries of Asclepius (the remains demonstrate five reservoirs connected to the room).⁴⁸⁸ Thus, there seems to have been a shift from the primitive form of cure to more practical treatment during the Hellenistic period. The cessation of the practice of the terracotta votives and the development of the elaborate aqueduct highlight this point. Purification by bathing possibly became a more important procedure of the treatment under the instruction of the priests. The archaeological evidence shows that there stood a Doric temple in the court of the sanctuary,⁴⁸⁹ which had not been demolished when Mummius sacked the city in 146 BCE. It is thought that it remained desolate, or was used by a small number of residents until the Romans restored the temple.⁴⁹⁰ In addition to the refurbishment of the temple, the Romans constructed a building in the precinct with small rooms of which the purpose might have been to accommodate visitors and patients.⁴⁹¹ The visitors' understanding of the priests who undertook the medical procedures during the Roman period must have been different from that of pre-Hellenistic times. During the Roman era, the patients expected to see a priest who would perform practical medical treatment in the name of Asclepius. Thus, the role of the priest as intermediary was more significant than in the archaic period when the people believed in the deity who would cure the people

⁴⁸⁷ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 55; Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 43.

⁴⁸⁸ Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 51.

⁴⁸⁹ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, pp. 30-39.

⁴⁹⁰ See 2.1.1 for discussion of continuity of the city during the period 146-44 BCE.

⁴⁹¹ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 156. The planning of the building shows that it cut off the path to the resort of Lerna which had a fountain house.

directly. From the second century CE, two noteworthy pieces of evidence of doctors in Corinth exist. One of these is an inscription that was erected to honour a doctor, Gaius Vibius Euelpistos, who was also a priest of Asclepius.⁴⁹² The reconstruction of the inscription by Kent inserting ‘city (*polis*)’ as a donor may not be certain, although it is most likely that the status of the priest of Asclepius as a medical practitioner was well known to the people in Corinth. Another doctor was Numisianus, who lectured in Corinth; the evidence is known from a literary source, Galen, who was a physician to the emperor Marcus Aurelius⁴⁹³ and who had studied under Numisianus in Corinth in the mid second century.⁴⁹⁴ Thus, it may be plausible to consider that the medical standard in Corinth was advanced compared to other cities, at least by the second century, which would have owed much to the tradition of the cult of Asclepius. This allows us to picture the resumption of the cult as the beginning of the development of the medical practice that flourished in Corinth during the second century CE.⁴⁹⁵ The priests in the Roman era gained more social power and status, as the honorific inscription testifies.

Date of renovation

It is difficult to know the exact date of the renovation of the sanctuary, but two pieces of evidence suggest that it took place during the early stage of colonization. The inscription of the donor of the temple is possibly the more direct source. A piece of onomastic evidence suggests the date of the renovation of the temple. The inscription on the stuccoed epistyle of the temple is most likely to date from the time of refurbishment by the Romans. The extant name is Marcus Antonius Milesius, who is thought to be the donor of the restoration of the sanctuary around 25 BCE;⁴⁹⁶ it is conceivable that

⁴⁹² Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 90, no. 206. ‘The [city] of the Corinthians (hereby honors) Gaius Vibius Euelpistos, the physician, son of Meges (and) priest of Asklepios.’ (Tr. Kent). Cf. Wickkiser, ‘Asklepios’, p. 53.

⁴⁹³ Reign: 161-180 CE.

⁴⁹⁴ Galen., *AA*, 1, 2.217-18. It is however considered that Numisianus possibly had departed Corinth by the time Galen arrived in Corinth. See ‘Introduction’, in Galen., *Method of Medicine* (ed. and tr. Ian Johnston and G.H.R. Horsley; LCL; London: Harvard University Press., 2011) p. xvii; Cf. Wickkiser, ‘Asklepios’, pp. 53-4.

⁴⁹⁵ For evidence of medical instruments from Corinth, see Wickkiser, ‘Asklepios’, p. 54, n. 52, with reference.

⁴⁹⁶ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 39. Kent dates the inscription to around 25 BCE. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 21.

there were other names inscribed, since the name of Milesius was inscribed as the first name on the left side of the epistyle and there is space for others, but they are not preserved. Since the name Milesius indicates his Greek origin, Carl Roebuck suggests that he was a freedman of Mark Antony (while acknowledging that the name Marcus Antonius was extremely common).⁴⁹⁷ Whether he had an association with Mark Antony or not, his benefaction to rebuild the sanctuary may have implied a political gesture; that is, by restoring the temple of the cult of Asclepius soon after Augustus became the first Roman emperor. In practice he donated the sanctuary to the one who had defeated Antony, the new ruler of the colony.⁴⁹⁸ A less direct source is the numismatic evidence found in a receptacle for offerings. It contained eleven coins, of which seven are dated after the sack of Corinth in 146 BCE. The seven coins are autonomous coins from Sparta the use of which was permitted by the Roman authorities.⁴⁹⁹ The oldest coin dates to 146 BCE and the latest one possibly dates to 32 BCE or shortly afterwards. The date 32 BCE is identified by the name of the magistrate, Atratinus, who had first followed Mark Antony and then followed Octavian just before the battle of Actium in 31 BCE.⁵⁰⁰ From the fact that these coins survived, the possible reconstruction, as Roebuck explains, is that they were swept into the receptacle when the sanctuary was refurbished, and they remained by being ‘covered over and put out of use’.⁵⁰¹ This suggests that the date at which a significant change was brought about to the sanctuary was around the time of the battle of Actium. Thus, both pieces of evidence above suggest that the resumption of the cult of Asclepius took place around the time when Octavian defeated Mark Antony. This was the time when it was important for the new ruler, Augustus, to promote his reign and gain firm loyalty from the people in Corinth, especially at the early stage of colonization, since Corinth was an administrative base for Antony to exercise power over the

⁴⁹⁷ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 39.

⁴⁹⁸ Wickkiser stresses this interpretation. Wickkiser, ‘Asklepios’, p. 61. See the discussions below for the relevance of the identification of Asclepius with Augustus.

⁴⁹⁹ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 38, n. 16. From the fact that the coins discovered can be dated to the period between the sack and the refoundation of Corinth by the Romans (146 BCE to 44 BCE), it may be possible to suggest the continuity of the cult during this period.

⁵⁰⁰ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 38, n. 16.

⁵⁰¹ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 39.

Peloponnese.⁵⁰² In other words, there was a need for a change in the patron of the colony where the majority of the people were freedpersons. In this sense, the resumption of the cult may have been intended to advance his rule over the people of Corinth. Thus, the social context does account for the need for the early reconstruction of the cult.⁵⁰³

Furthermore, the renewed cult may have celebrated the deity brought from Rome, i.e. Aesculapius on Tiber Island.⁵⁰⁴ The immigrants from Rome were familiar with the cult, and this was particularly important for the increasing numbers of Romans who migrated to Corinth after 27 BCE when the city became a senatorial colony. They possibly identified the cult as that of Rome, feeling reassured by having the god who was their familiar ‘practitioner’ who cured the people of Rome. However, it is most likely that those who were of Greek origin, possibly a large portion of the first immigrants,⁵⁰⁵ regarded the cult as belonging to the same Asclepius who was a Greek deity, since the Romans did not build a completely new temple but restored the sanctuary in its original location. This is also consistent with the situation of the cult of Demeter and Kore in Corinth which was restored by the Romans. Jorunn Økland, in her investigation of the cult, highlights that the Greeks and Romans worshipped the same cult, and from her reading of Pausanias, notes that as he prefers the old Greek names (Demeter and Kore) instead of the Roman names of the cult (Ceres, Liber and Liberta), this may show that the identity of the ‘personality’ of the gods may have been culturally complex.⁵⁰⁶ That is, the gods being worshipped at the sanctuary were called by different names according to different cultures. The Latin speakers and Greek speakers may have understood the same cult in different ways:

⁵⁰² A Corinthian coin which has the design of the head of Antony (39-36 BCE) testifies to his rule. (E.g., A.M. Burnett, M. Amandry and P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage* (Vol. 1; London: British Museum Press, 1992), no. 1124). Furthermore, the onomastic evidence from Corinth demonstrates Antony’s rule: Marcus Insteius was a *duovir* who fought for Mark Antony at Actium (Plut., *Ant.*, 65, 1). Cf. Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 67, no. 149; M. Antonius Theophilus was a manager (διοικητής) of Antony at Corinth. Plutarch states that Theophilus and his son Hipparchus had significant influence on Antony (Plut., *Ant.*, 68, 3). Cf. Edwards, *Coins*, p. 5.

⁵⁰³ Wickkiser argues for the identification of Asclepius with Augustus on the basis of the literary evidence. See the discussion in 4.2.2 for details. Wickkiser, ‘Asklepios’, p. 60.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. Wickkiser, ‘Asklepios’, p.59 (although Wickkiser is of a neutral opinion).

⁵⁰⁵ See 2.1.2 for details, especially the ‘rebuilding period’ and the ‘stabilization period’.

⁵⁰⁶ Jorunn Økland, ‘Ceres, Κόρη, and Cultural Complexity: Divine Personality Definitions and Human Worshippers in Roman Corinth’, in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (eds. Steven Friesen, Dan Schowalter, and James Walters; Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 199-230 (224-5).

the former worshipped the Roman deities that were in effect different from those of the old Greek period, whereas the latter still worshipped their ‘real’ deities. The Romans may have thought their deities equivalent to those of the Greeks, but for Greek-speaking people this was a matter of their cultural identity in which they had great pride. The time of Pausanias (second century CE), was the era when the Greek cultural sentiment among the people became stronger; hence, the tension between the two cultures may have been more overt than in the first century. Nonetheless, the Greek cults that were resumed by the Romans in the colony must have possessed such complexities from the beginning of the renewal.

4.1.2. The Roman re-modelling of the cult of Asclepius

After the overview of the cult of Asclepius in Corinth, and the account of the resumption of the cult within its social and political context, it is important to investigate further how the Romans re-modelled the cult. The Roman programme for the re-founding of Corinth was carried out according to a careful plan, and the resumption of the cult must have played an important part in their social planning of the colony. The following part will explore the changes they applied to the Greek cult, with a particular focus on the question of sacral manumission. One of the difficulties in exploring the issue is that, although sacral manumission is a crucial theme for the purpose of this study, there is little extant evidence from Corinth itself. Thus, the study will explore the evidence from Buthrotum, which was colonized by the Romans in the same year as Corinth, as a heuristic tool. The evidence of the cult of Asclepius in Buthrotum also shows the strong influence of Roman rule. Thus, it is hoped that the exploration will shed light on the ways in which the Romans utilized the cult of Asclepius as a social programme during the Augustan era, and on the question of sacral manumission in Corinth.

Evidence from the cult of Asclepius in Buthrotum

The historical context of Buthrotum (modern Butrint in Albania) offers insights into the cult of Asclepius in Corinth since the cult in Buthrotum was also renovated by the Romans during the foundation period of the colony. The conditions in both cities have similarities, and their close

relationship has been noted by many scholars.⁵⁰⁷ The similar social context enables us to explore the analogous element of the cult, especially in terms of the Roman influence on the cult.

In 44 BCE, the same year in which the first immigrants were sent to Corinth, the city of Buthrotum was confiscated and made a colony of Rome by Julius Caesar. In addition to the economic reasons, it is said that this was a punishment on the inhabitants, since the people in Buthrotum refused to pay tax to Rome. It is known that Atticus, a close friend of Cicero who would lose his considerable interests in the city, asked Cicero to intercede, but the decision made by the emperor was firm.⁵⁰⁸ As in Corinth, the colony was administered by *duoviri* and magistrates, of whom onomastic information is known from the extant coinage. One piece of evidence from the Augustan period is worth mentioning. The coin has a design of the symbol of Asclepius, that is, a snake coiled around a staff; the names show Graecinu[s], who is known to be the *duovir*, and Milesius, a magistrate.⁵⁰⁹ If they were the elected municipal officers, and the cult of Asclepius had a significant place in the city of Buthrotum to the extent that it would be shown on the minted coinage, it is natural to consider that they made benefactions to the city, including a contribution to the development of the cult centre. At the same time, the name Milesius brings to mind the donor of the temple of Asclepius in Corinth, Marcus Antonius Milesius, whose name is inscribed on the epistyle of the temple, as mentioned above. Considering the fact that the name Milesius is rare,⁵¹⁰ and that each Milesius has a strong association with the cult of Asclepius, it may be possible that these individuals have a family link.⁵¹¹ In any event, it is worth exploring the evidence of the cult in Buthrotum, especially in terms of its social function during its period of Roman rule.

⁵⁰⁷ E.g. Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 6.

⁵⁰⁸ Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, pp. 274-5; Richard Hodges and Inge Lyse Hansen, 'Introduction', in *Roman Butrint: an assessment* (eds. I.L. Hansen and R. Hodges; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), pp. 1-16 (6).

⁵⁰⁹ Milesius is a colleague of Graecinus but whether he is *duovir* is not known. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, p. 275 and 277, no. 1387.

⁵¹⁰ Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 27.

⁵¹¹ Wickkiser and Melfi consider that they were possibly related to each other, since, in addition to their association with the cult of Asclepius in each city, the name Milesius is rare and they are contemporaries. Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 65; Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 27.

In the Greek cities, there was a tradition of publishing the decree of manumission, and these records can be found in the sanctuaries. For example, the records inscribed at the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi were brought to the attention of scholars by Deissmann in the early twentieth century.⁵¹² Similarly, the evidence at the sanctuary of Asclepius in Buthrotum also deserves special mention. As at Epidauros, the records were inscribed on the seats and walls of the theatre, and four hundred of them are still extant. From the inscriptions, it is known that this tradition at Buthrotum started at least as early as the mid third century BCE and continued at least until the mid first century BCE, just before the Roman colony of Corinth was founded (44 BCE).⁵¹³ The phrase that is common in many of the inscriptions is:⁵¹⁴

ἀφίεντι ἐλεύθεραν καὶ ἀνατίθεντι ἱερὰν τοῖ Ἀσκληπιοῖ ἀνέφαπτον...

(discharging free and dedicating him/her as a service of priest of Asclepius, not to be claimed as a slave)

As the verb ἀνατίθημι (to set up as a votive gift, dedicate)⁵¹⁵ indicates, slaves were dedicated to Asclepius in order to be manumitted. This was possibly a typical convention of sacral manumission in which the slave owner sold his or her slave to the god as a form of consecration and received the money which the slave had paid to the priest of the temple. In this manner, the slave was emancipated. It is also most likely that an additional payment was made to the priest either by the slave or by the slave owner, which is analogous to the manumission tax paid in Roman manumission.

The architectural evidence shows that the cult of Asclepius had a theatre and several buildings

⁵¹² Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 319-20.

⁵¹³ Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 22; J.J. Wilkes, 'The Greek and Roman theatres of Butrint: a commentary and reassessment', in *The Theatre at Butrint: Luigi Maria Ugolini's Excavations at Butrint 1928-1932 (Albania Antica IV)* (Supplementary Vol. 35; ed. Oliver J. Gilkes; London: British School at Athens, 2003), pp. 107-180 (175); Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', pp. 63-4.

⁵¹⁴ P. Cabanes and D. Faïk, 'Appoitias, fils d'Antigonos, théarodoke de Delphes, dans les inscriptions de Bouthrôtos', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 118: 1 (1994), pp. 113-130, esp. Annexe épigraphique: Inscriptions de Bouthrôtos (p. 121, A and B; p. 122, no. 2; p. 124, nos. 4 and 6; p. 126, nos. 5, 9, 10 and 11; p. 129, no. 1; p. 130, nos. 2 and 3).

⁵¹⁵ *A Greek-English lexicon*: compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott; revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie (Reprint of the 9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 123.

including the temple, a bath-house, shrines, and a peristyle-house. The facilities were for the purpose of performing the procedure which usually involved purification, offering of sacrifice, and sleeping in the sanctuary in the hope of encountering the god in a dream.⁵¹⁶ The reason for the financial ability to build such a complex is expressed in the inscription from the theatre which states: ἀπὸ τῶν ποθόδων τοῦ θεοῦ (from the sacred money of the god).⁵¹⁷ There is also a building that is thought to be a shrine and which is directly connected to the theatre, and Milena Melfi argues that this building may have been used as a treasury, since the threshold of the building was designed to have a double closure.⁵¹⁸ Whether this building was in fact a treasury or not, it is certain that the religious practice associated with it involved a monetary exchange which created large sums. The religious activities which the priests of Asclepius performed included the procedure of healing as well as manumission, and they possibly undertook public roles in the name of the god that took place at the theatre. The large scale of the complex testifies to the income of the cult obtained from these activities. Thus, it is not difficult to see that the cultic centre of Asclepius in Buthrotum had a significant social role, and the people were proud of being associated with the cult.

It is thought that Roman rule at the colony of Buthrotum brought a change to the cult of Asclepius. As noted above, the practice of inscribing records at the theatre ceased in the mid first century, and this is also consistent with other evidence. For example, Melfi argues from the study of the building that is considered a treasury, that the building became a kind of store to keep votive objects because the income of the cult had stopped.⁵¹⁹ Thus, the evidence in Buthrotum seems to demonstrate the impact that Roman rule had on the Greek cult. At the same time, despite the significant intervention by the Romans, the cult continued to be a symbol of the city, which is attested by numismatic evidence, from the coinage which has a snake-staff design and which was issued under

⁵¹⁶ E. Kearns, 'Religious Practice and Belief', in *A Companion to the Classical Greek World* (ed. K.H. Kinzl; Chichester: Blackwell, 2010), p. 322.

⁵¹⁷ Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 22.

⁵¹⁸ Melfi, 'Sanctuary', pp. 20-21.

⁵¹⁹ Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 23.

the name of *duovir* during the early stage of colonization.⁵²⁰ In other words, the Romans chose to preserve the cult, and retained the cultic elements, such as the focus on individual healing, that would not hinder their rule over the colony. The functions that were most likely to be banned were the activities that allowed the cult and the priests to maintain social power, such as the Greek sacral manumission. Thus, the Roman authorities took over the cult and utilized its cultic ability of centralization in order to exercise imperial power, while carefully removing the elements that would lead the Greek cults to have any kind of social authority. In this manner, the re-modelled Roman cultic centre became a place where people sought association with Rome.⁵²¹

Considering that the cult of Asclepius in Corinth was restored during the same period by the Romans, it may be legitimate to draw a parallel from the situation in Buthrotum. One difference was that the cult and the city had become largely desolate at Corinth, but the timing of the resumption, as has been explored above, brings the context of Corinth close to that of Buthrotum. The cult was most likely to have been resumed soon after the battle of Actium, in 31 BCE, when there were already several thousands of freedpersons, largely of Greek cultural background, who had been sent to Corinth from Rome from 44 BCE. Because the influx of the Romans into the city increased after the reign of Augustus, the cult was worshipped by two groups of people with different cultural backgrounds. As in the case of Buthrotum, the Romans utilized the structure of the cult in order to extend Roman authority over the people, but banned the elements that would lead to a situation where the authority of the Greek deity, Asclepius, would become a source of social power for the people of Greek cultural identity. Thus, the most likely reconstruction is that the practice of Greek sacral manumission was not resumed in Corinth, as it was stopped in Buthrotum.⁵²²

⁵²⁰ Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 27. Cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, p. 275-7.

⁵²¹ Melfi, 'Sanctuary', p. 28.

⁵²² In Greek cities, the largest body of other evidence comes from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, where there are inscriptions that indicate approximately 1,200 slaves were freed by sacral manumission. From the date of the inscriptions, the practice is believed to have lasted from the beginning of the second century BCE to the end of the first century CE. Statistics show that a relatively small number of manumissions took place in the first century CE (9% according to Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, p. 134). Michael I. Rostovtzeff ascribes this decline to the general decline of the Greek economy (*Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (vol. 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 625-6). Ancient geographer, Strabo, wrote at the end of the first century BCE that the temple had become poorer than in earlier times (Strab., 9.3.8); however, Hopkins generally disagrees with this view, since the religious significance of the temple was still profound during the

Roman era. Visits by political figures such as Sulla and Appius Claudius, who consulted the Delphic oracle, show its high reputation, and Cicero called the place ‘the oracle of the whole world’ (*Font.*, 30). It is thus most likely that although the cult was strongly influenced by the Romans, the temple continued to attract a large number of people, whether oracle seekers or tourists, through which regular income was obtained. For this reason, Hopkins finds the cessation of the record of manumission at the end of the first century CE ‘puzzling’ (Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, pp. 135-6).

On the other hand, scholars often look to Thessalian inscriptions for evidence of manumission in later eras. According to Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, there are approximately three hundred inscriptions, with records of the practices of 1,700 manumissions (many fragmentary). The date of the inscriptions stretches from the early second century BCE to the third century CE (Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Taxing Freedom in Thessalian Manumission Inscriptions* (Mnemosyne Supplements; History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity 361; Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 29). Uniquely, although they are from different cities in the region of Thessaly, all the extant records are ‘civil’ manumission (with the exception of one sacral manumission from the early second century BCE: *SEG* 49.629), many of which are engraved in a chronological order. A fixed federal charge was exacted for each act of manumission. Furthermore, after the reign of Augustus in 27 BCE, the payments made to each polis were in Roman currency (i.e. twenty-two and a half *denarii*) according to the currency exchange rate set at the beginning of the Principate (p. 34). Zelnick-Abramovitz, who analyzed the inscriptions, conjectures that it is unlikely that the Romans imposed manumission tax upon the people of the Thessalian League (p. 121), given the free autonomy the Romans permitted. Indeed, it may be, as Zelnick-Abramovitz argues, that the federal charge was first introduced by *themselves* for federal economic needs, such as the constant strengthening of the federal army during the second century BCE (p. 127). However, in addition to it being paid in Roman *denarii* where Greek staters were still used in some cases (e.g. *IG* IX(2) 546 and 547, from 131/132 CE; *SEG* 53.512, from the second/third century CE), there is evidence that there was considerable Greek resistance against heavy Roman taxation in Achaia and Macedonia in 15 CE (see footnote 222 for details). This makes it highly probable that the federal charge for manumission became a source of Roman revenue. In Thessaly, civil manumission was under the control of the federal government and practised with relatively well-established order; it is most likely that the Romans utilized it to secure stable levy from the League.

With regards to Greek sacral manumission, it appears that most of the pieces of evidence are from the third or second century BCE with the exceptions of the temples that have developed into socially influential cultic centres, such as that of Delphi or Buthrotum (Melfi lists the epigraphic evidence from Epidaurus, Naupaktos, Orchomenos, Thespieae, Cheronea and Gonnoi; however, there may be more. Melfi, ‘Sanctuary’, p. 29, n. 28). In addition to these groups, there is additional evidence from the early third century CE. In 212, *Constitutio Antonina* was enacted by Caracalla, which granted the entire non-slave population of the Empire Roman citizenship. Subsequently, the governor of Macedonia, Tertullianus Aquila, adapted the practice of Greek manumission to the Roman enactment. According to Maria S. Youni’s analysis, Greek slaves in Macedonia were permitted to be manumitted and to gain Roman citizenship through Greek sacral manumission, instead of Roman formal manumission, and this continued for at least fifty years. For example, Maria S. Youni (‘Transforming Greek practice into Roman law: manumissions in Roman Macedonia’, *The Legal History Review* 78 (2010), pp. 311-40) notes that the inscriptional evidence from the temple of the Mother of the Gods in Leukopetra includes phrases such as ‘according to the order of M Ulpus Tertullianus Aquila’ (p. 329). It is thus most likely that this legal change consequently increased the number of Greek manumission practised in Macedonia. However, the question still remains as to whether the practice of Greek sacral manumission survived over the centuries, or was resurrected and strengthened by the new social order? A. Cameron, for example, holds reservations about its continuation (A. Cameron, ‘Inscriptions Relating to Sacral Manumission and Confession’, *The Harvard Theological Review* 32 (1939), pp. 143-79 (153)), while Youni maintains far-reaching conclusions that it was practised continuously in the Greek world, and was ‘transformed’ into *manumissio in ecclesiis* (Youni, ‘Transforming’, p. 340).

Harrill explains that the geographical differences of manumission can generally be explained along ‘Romanized and non-Romanized lines’ (Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 55-6. Cf. Flexsenhar ‘No Longer a Slave’, p. 66); however, the above overview of the evidence from different regions shows that the picture is more nuanced in terms of *how* the Romans controlled Greek sacral manumission in each region. There should be focus on their ongoing choices according to local situations, rather than the assumption that there was a uniform policy over the Greek land that was determined in Rome. Some of the key elements the Romans may have considered in each region from the above cases are: (1) whether the continuation of Greek manumission would help to maintain the central power of the cult that might lead to anti-Roman movements. Any Greek cults that were a symbol of the city were a risk in this regard, as they were the cults in which Greeks had great pride.

One curious piece of evidence that deserves special mention, however, is the Latin inscription from Apulum (modern Alba-Iulia, Romania) that mentions the freedman of Aesculapius who became an Augustalis.

... domino Septim(ius) Ascl(epius) Her-
mes libertus numinis Aes-
culapi(i) habens ornamenta dec(urionalia)
col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et aug(ustalis) ... ⁵²³

This is possibly a typical honorific inscription of an Augustalis who gained the high social status of receiving *ornamenta decurionalia*. The first line indicates that the inscription is from the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (reign: 193-211 CE), and in the phrase *libertus numinis Aesculapii* (a freedman of the god Aesculapius), the spelling of Aesculapius is distinguished from that of Asclepius in the first line (note the spelling of Ascl[epius]). Since the date of the inscription is roughly two centuries later than the time with which this study is concerned, and the social context of the Roman colony of Apulum is different from that of Corinth or Buthrotum, there may not be strong evidence to argue its relevance to the discussion in question. However, it does raise an important question. If the freedman was emancipated by sacral manumission, as Deissmann suggests,⁵²⁴ the slave was freed through the sacral manumission of Aesculapius, the Roman deity, and not the Greek deity of Asclepius. It is most likely that this was a Roman manumission, in effect, performed by the authority of *imperium*, which would make sense of the fact that the freedman later became an Augustalis. When we turn to the context in question, that of Corinth, the above evidence offers a possibility of a similar scenario: that is, the Greek cult of Asclepius in Corinth was resumed as the

The Romans would have actively domesticated these cults and terminated their social power. (2) Whether the continuation/resumption of Greek manumission would be a steady source of revenue. If manumissions were kept in good order, as was the case in civil manumission controlled by the federal government, the Romans would have utilized the existing system. (3) In addition, the type of sacral manumission where slaves were manumitted by the names of the Greek deity/-ies and the Roman emperor in a single act of manumission is an area to be studied further. (There is at least one example of this type: *IG IX. 1. 86*: Hyampolis, during the reign of Trajan.) A plausible account is required in relation to the above two points.

⁵²³ *CIL* III 1079.

⁵²⁴ Deissmann, *Light*, p. 326, n. 2.

cult of Aesculapius of Rome, and the cult became a place where Roman manumission was performed. There, the Roman owner would come with his slave in front of the god Aesculapius, who would declare freedom ultimately under the authority of the emperor. In any case, from the above discussions, whether the Roman manumission was practiced at the cult of Asclepius/Aesculapius or not, it is most likely that the Greek sacral manumission ceased as the Romans restored the cult as part of their re-foundation programme.

4.2 The relationship between the Roman emperor and Asclepius

4.2.1 The identification of Augustus with Asclepius

It is known that the Romans generally respected Greek gods, and the emperors asserted their association with the Greek deities. However, it is important to investigate whether, for example, the emperors claimed to be an incarnation of the Greek deity, or whether they subordinated themselves to the Greek gods.⁵²⁵ The situation in Corinth may be unique in this sense, since Romans re-founded the city and resumed the Greek cults. In this part of the study, the question of the identification of Augustus with Asclepius will be discussed by exploring literary and numismatic sources. Along with the exploration of the evidence, the intention of the Roman authorities in making this identification will be sought in relation to the historical context of Corinth.

Literary evidence

In Rome, the cult of Asclepius (the Romans addressed the god Aesculapius) on Tiber Island was popular among the people. The tradition of the cult, in which Asclepius was believed to have travelled from Epidaurus to Rome by boat in the appearance of a snake to cure a plague, goes back to the third century BCE.⁵²⁶ Thus, it is more likely that the immigrants from Rome to Corinth (or Buthrotum) were familiar with this cult of healing from Rome. Asclepius also had a strong connection with the

⁵²⁵ E.g. Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 153.

⁵²⁶ Cf. Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 58. (Livy, 10.31.8-9, 10.47.6-7; *Per.* 11, 29.11.1; *Ov., Met.*, 15.622-744; Valerius Maximus.1.8.2.)

imperial family since Asclepius is a son of Apollo who was a divine patron of the imperial family. In addition, it is known that Julius Caesar claimed that Octavian was the son of Apollo.⁵²⁷ From this point, Bronwen L. Wickkiser stresses the identification of Augustus with Asclepius, especially in the cult at Corinth. She refers to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which the relationship of Apollo and Asclepius (Aesculapius) is juxtaposed with the relationship of Julius Caesar and Octavian,⁵²⁸ and explains the reason for the importance of this identification at that time. In *Metamorphoses*, two contexts are paralleled: the time of the spread of the plague in Rome and the situation during the time of Augustus. When Roman envoys are sent to Apollo in Delphi asking the god to cure the people of the plague, Apollo directs them to his son Asclepius in Epidaurus (which alludes to Caesar's appointment of Octavian), who then travels to Rome, as mentioned above. Wickkiser stresses that the coming of the deity of healing to Rome is depicted in such a way that it overlaps with the reign of Augustus, who would bring healing among the people who were wounded in the decades of civil war.

Thus, Wickkiser argues that, in Corinth, the Romans intended to utilize the cult in such a way that Asclepius represented Augustus.⁵²⁹ In other words, the relationship between them was that Augustus was the incarnation of Asclepius. She also makes a clear distinction between Asclepius and Aesculapius, and raises the question of whether the deity that was worshipped in Corinth was a Greek deity (Asclepius) or the Roman deity (Aesculapius) of Tiber Island. Given that it was the Roman deity, one may also wonder whether and to what extent Greek people felt that the cult was Romanized and was no longer the cult of their deity. It may well be that the cult represented both traditions; for the Romans, the deity was Aesculapius, and for the people from Greek cultural background the deity was Asclepius.

Numismatic evidence

The question concerning the identification of Augustus with Asclepius is important, as the Romans

⁵²⁷ Suet., *Aug.*, 94.4; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p. 14.

⁵²⁸ *Met.* 15.622-870; Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 59.

⁵²⁹ Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 59.

may have intended to spread a certain message to the people by resuming the cult. The literary evidence above suggests a strong association of Augustus with Asclepius/Aesculapius, as stated above; thus, the message promoted may have been that Augustus is the new ruler who brings healing to the people, as Wickkiser argues.⁵³⁰ However, it is felt that there is a need for material evidence, since the message of the literary sources might not have reached the masses.⁵³¹ The study will explore the numismatic evidence from Corinth to examine this identification, and to determine whether the Romans intended to propagate any kind of message to the people during the time when the cult of Asclepius was being resumed in Corinth.

In the study of Roman coinage, it is said that the type of the design shifted from specific to generalized images.⁵³² The characteristics of the design of the deity were more specific in their context during the Julio-Claudian era than in the later period in the second century when the designs of the images of deities were more abstract. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill accounts for this phenomenon by stating that it reflects the trend of the social context; that is, it shifted from the time when Augustus still faced an unstable situation in the Empire to the period during the Antonine era when stability was relatively high.⁵³³ The case of the design of Poseidon in Roman coinage offers us important insights into the question of identification in a specific context.⁵³⁴ It is said that it was Sextus Pompey who eagerly identified himself with Poseidon (Neptune), a deity who had power over the seas; by doing so, he inherited the well-known legacy of his father, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, whose exploits in clearing the pirates that had caused a loss to Rome were well known.⁵³⁵ After Sextus Pompey was defeated by Agrippa, Octavian's son-in-law and defence minister, Octavian employed the symbol of

⁵³⁰ Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 59.

⁵³¹ Cf. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and His Virtues', *Historia* 30 (1981), pp. 298-323 (317).

⁵³² Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus', *JRS* 76 (1986), pp. 66-87 (77); Wallace-Hadrill, 'Emperor', p. 312.

⁵³³ Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority', p. 77; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Emperor', p. 312.

⁵³⁴ Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 314.

⁵³⁵ E.g. Plut., *Pomp.*, 26.3.

Poseidon in the design of coinage as his opponent Sextus Pompey had done.⁵³⁶ It is said that this was done so that Octavian could become ‘reconciled’ with Poseidon,⁵³⁷ and recruit former opponents successfully.⁵³⁸ In addition, Octavian dedicated a statue of Poseidon at Nicopolis at the site where his camp was pitched at the battle of Actium.⁵³⁹ His stay in Greece for eighteen months after Actium possibly affected his ideas of identification with deities familiar to the Greeks.⁵⁴⁰ When turning to an example of Poseidon in Corinthian coinage, the design of Poseidon seated with his trident (Fig. 2-5) can be seen as a symbol of the new ruler who reigns over Corinth. Thus, the evidence of Corinthian coinage from the early stage of colonization demonstrates the intentions of Rome in a specific context and the identification of Augustus with Poseidon that carried a specific message to the people in the colony.

The exploration of the design of imperial coinage now leads us into the evidence of the cult of Asclepius in Corinth. Its use as a symbol is far from abundant. Two Corinthian coins have been found which have designs depicting Asclepius, both from the latter half of the second century CE, during the time when the political circumstances of Corinth were relatively stable.⁵⁴¹ This was possibly the time when the cult gained much popularity among the people, and the excavations of statuettes of Asclepius from a Roman house support this point.⁵⁴² It is not certain how Greek-speaking people saw the cult since it had been re-modelled by the Romans, but what seems certain is that the cult prospered among the Romans in Corinth in the second century.⁵⁴³ Evidence from other periods is scarce. Other

⁵³⁶ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, p. 315, fig. 147.

⁵³⁷ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, p. 22.

⁵³⁸ Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, p. 396, n. 51.

⁵³⁹ Suet., *Aug.*, 18.2. To be precise, it was not only to Neptune, but he enlarged the temple of Apollo and consecrated the trophy to Neptune and Mars.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, p. 314.

⁵⁴¹ Edwards, *Coins*, nos. 159 (161-180 CE) and 176 (176-192 CE), (p. 33 and 34).

⁵⁴² Wickkiser refers to Lea Stirling, who dates one of the two statuettes to the 2nd century CE (and the other to the 3rd or 4th century CE). Wickkiser, ‘Asklepios’, p56, n. 59. Cf. L. Stirling, ‘Pagan Statuettes in Late Antique Corinth: Sculpture from the Panayia Domus’, *Hesperia* 77 (2008), pp. 89-161.

⁵⁴³ M.E. Hoskins Walbank discusses the possibility that the appearance of Asclepius in coinage was a result of the spread of plague in the empire during the time of Marcus Aurelius. M.E. Hoskins Walbank, ‘Image

than the two coins mentioned, no coins have been excavated which have the symbol of Asclepius and were minted in Corinth proper. Thus, it is likely that the cult was less popular during the refoundation period than it was in the second century. During the time of Augustus, the cult of Asclepius was possibly not a strong symbol of the city. Instead, the Romans exploited other Greek cults in order to propagate their rule in a more specific situation in the history of Corinth. For example, in addition to the use of Poseidon as mentioned above, the resumption of the Isthmian games is an important motif in the coinage in the early stage of the refoundation of the colony; the symbol of wreath and dolphin that represented the Isthmian cult appears in its design, as discussed in Chapter 2.⁵⁴⁴

Given that the Romans used such specific designs in the coinage to propagate their message during the early stage, a question arises regarding the cult of Asclepius: if the cult was resumed in order to bring healing to the people with the particular identification of Augustus with Asclepius,⁵⁴⁵ especially in the context of the aftermath of the civil war, why did the Romans not propagate such an important message through the coinage? One may expect to find such depictions in the early stage of Corinthian coinage; for example, the coinage in Butrint from the Augustan period has a symbol of Asclepius which suggests the importance of the cult in the colony. However, in Corinth, the coins with the symbol of Asclepius are only found in the coinage from the second century, as explained above. Thus, it is felt that this apparent absence of Asclepius in the Augustan era needs to be explained further.

The historical context is that the resumption of the cult is considered to have occurred soon after the battle of Actium. During this period, the colony was experiencing a transition from the 'rebuilding period' to the 'stabilization period'.⁵⁴⁶ In 27 BCE, four years after Actium, Corinth became a colony administered by senators, and the Roman governors began to reside in Corinth, which brought many settlers from Rome. At the same time, this was the year when Augustus became

and Cult: The Coinage of Roman Corinth', in *Corinth in Context*, pp. 151- 197 (183-4). Cf. Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 55.

⁵⁴⁴ See 2.1.2 and 2.3.2-3.

⁵⁴⁵ Wickkiser, 'Asklepios', p. 60.

⁵⁴⁶ See 2.1.2 for details.

the first emperor of the Roman Empire. Therefore, it is most likely from this context that the Romans were strongly conscious of the reign of Augustus when they built or rebuilt any monumental buildings in the colony during this period. For instance, some of the major Greek temples in the colonies were remodelled by the Romans during this time: it is known that the old temple of Apollo in Nicopolis⁵⁴⁷ was enlarged to celebrate and commemorate Octavian's victory at Actium. In Butrint, the complex of the sanctuary of Asclepius was remodelled and administered by the Romans. The renewal of Asclepius in Corinth was thus a part of this trend. Therefore, the lack of numismatic evidence in Corinth does not suggest that the cult of Asclepius in Corinth was less significant. Rather, this possibly has to do with other renewal projects in Corinth. As stated, the design employed during the last quarter of the first century BCE seems to stress the Isthmian games, with motifs such as dolphin and wreath.⁵⁴⁸ The symbols of rule over the colony (Poseidon and trident, and Bellerophon and Pegasus)⁵⁴⁹ were also present. Thus, it seems that the cult of Asclepius did not win a major position in representing Corinth when compared to these symbols above. It was important for the Romans to propagate *more* significant messages. Internally, there was always the issue of ruling the subject people (their freedom needed to be 'harnessed'),⁵⁵⁰ and externally, the priority was to announce that the Isthmian games were now administered by the Romans. Therefore, it is most likely that the design of the coinage was concerned with these issues, which were at the top of the agenda of the Romans at the time. As above, it is difficult to assess from the numismatic evidence whether or to what extent there was an intention among the Roman authorities to claim the identification of Augustus with Asclepius, who brought healing to the people in his colony.

⁵⁴⁷ The debate regarding the political status of Nicopolis (whether it was a free Greek city or a 'double community') will not be discussed here. Cf. Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 133.

⁵⁴⁸ Edwards, *Coins*, p. 18-19. Dolphin (no. 22), Trident (no. 22), Head of Aphrodite (nos. 25, 26), Bellerophon and Pegasos, (no. 25), Pegasos alone (no. 26), Dionysus (no. 27), Head of Kronos (no. 27), Head of Poseidon wearing wreath (no. 29), Head of Augustus (nos. 28,30), names of *duoviri* within wreath (nos. 29,32,33).

⁵⁴⁹ See the discussion in 2.3.2, esp. fig. 2-6.

⁵⁵⁰ See the discussion in 2.3.2, esp. fig. 2-5.

4.2.2 Inside the sanctuary: physical arrangement of the images of the emperor and the deities

Having discussed the issue of identification of Asclepius with Augustus in the light of literary and numismatic evidence, it is possible to explore the material evidence, such as that from the sanctuary. This part of the study focuses on the physical arrangement of the images in the sanctuary, which is said to reflect the relationship of the emperor with the Greek deities. This approach is possible if the evidence survives to the extent that the layout of that time could be reconstructed. Since the evidence from Corinthian Asclepius does not offer sufficient information in this regard, as will be mentioned below, the study will explore the sanctuaries of Asclepius in other cities. It will discuss the ideas that the Romans may have intended to convey in erecting the images of the emperor within the Greek sacred sphere, and so elucidate the relationship between Augustus and Asclepius in Corinth.

The images worshipped at the sanctuary of Corinth

From the evidence of the sanctuary of Asclepius in Corinth, a base of the statue was found in the cellar; however, there are no extant remains of the statue proper. Since the shape of the base is long and narrow, and since Pausanias writes about the two white-marble statues at the temple in the second century CE, namely Asclepius and Hygieia,⁵⁵¹ Carl Roebuck considers that these two deities stood on the base.⁵⁵² In addition to the base, there is a piece of a herm which is thought to have been erected near the entrance of the precinct in the second century BCE; as the discovered part is a head with beard, it is considered to be Zeus rather than Asclepius.⁵⁵³ As above, the extant sources from Corinth do not demonstrate strong evidence concerning the identities of the deities.

The description by Pausanias of the visit to Corinth presents another curious point. When he describes his visit to the area where the sanctuary of Asclepius stood, he briefly refers to the deities

⁵⁵¹ Paus., 2.4.5. Pausanias's comment on the two images is a general comment on the cult of Asclepius at Corinth, rather than a comment on the specific arrangement of the inside of the temple.

⁵⁵² Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 34.

⁵⁵³ Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p.38, n. 14. There is another base of a statue possibly from the Roman era. Although the statue is missing, the design of the snake on the top part of the base with the remains of the feet clearly shows that the statue was of Asclepius. However, since the base was found 500 metres away from the sanctuary, Roebuck considers that the connection with the sanctuary is unlikely. Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 143-5, and Plate 60.1.

being worshipped, as mentioned above, but does not comment on the details of the sanctuary, and hurries to describe the sight of Acrocorinth.⁵⁵⁴ His silence on the cult becomes more apparent when compared to the descriptions of his visit to the sanctuaries of Asclepius in other neighbouring towns. For example, in Sikyon,⁵⁵⁵ he first explains the plan of the sanctuary, then describes the condition of the images of the deities in each room, and the origin of how the god was brought to Sikyon from Epidaurus. His phrase ‘the Sicyonians say that...’ suggests his interest in the belief of the local people in the cult. The description of the sanctuary in Titane is written largely in a similar style, and he further inspects the material of which the image was made.⁵⁵⁶ In Argos, after commenting that the sanctuary of Asclepius is the ‘most famous’ in Argos, he explains the original founder of the sanctuary and the kinship of the founder with the figure honoured in Titane.⁵⁵⁷ Thus, it seems clear that Pausanias did not consider reporting the details of the cult of Asclepius in Corinth as he did in Sikyon, Titane and Argos. This attitude of his is said to be related to his view on the situation of the cult. According to William Hutton, Pausanias was a typical member of the elite of his time, who reveres the culture of classical Greece and ‘shows a marked lack of interest and respect for the most widespread new religion ... the ‘imperial cult’ devoted to deified Roman emperors’.⁵⁵⁸ In addition, an analogous attitude of Pausanias has been pointed out in the passage describing his visit to the cult of Demeter and Kore in Corinth. Jorunn Økland explains that there was a sense of nostalgia among the second-century Greek-speaking writers which kept them silent concerning the changes which had occurred in the places of which they were proud. Their resentment was about ‘the Roman

⁵⁵⁴ ‘By this gymnasium are temples of Zeus and Asclepius. The images of Asclepius and of Health are of white marble, that of Zeus is of bronze. The Acrocorinthus is a mountain peak above the city’. Paus., 2.4.5-6 (trans. W.H.S. Jones; LCL, 1918).

⁵⁵⁵ Paus., 2.10.2-3.

⁵⁵⁶ Paus., 2.11.5-6.

⁵⁵⁷ Paus., 2.23.4.

⁵⁵⁸ William Hutton, ‘The Construction of Religious Space in Pausanias’, in *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and early Christian antiquity: Seeing the gods* (eds. Jasl Elsner and Ian Rutherford; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 291-317 (296-7).

appropriation of Greek lands, myths and history'.⁵⁵⁹ Thus, it is most likely that, in the eyes of Pausanias, the sanctuary of Asclepius was remodelled in the Roman fashion in the mid second century, and the cult no longer kept its original Greek form of which he could be proud. From the evidence above, however, it is not possible to reconstruct the ways in which the Romans associated the emperors with the cult of Asclepius from his silence. The relationship between Asclepius and Augustus therefore needs to be discussed from a different perspective.

The physical arrangement of the sanctuary of Asclepius: external evidence

The evidence from the sanctuaries of Asclepius in other cities may provide insights into the relationship between the emperor and the Greek deities. This part of the study will seek to elucidate the intentions that the Romans may have had in establishing the images of the emperor within the precinct of the Greek sanctuaries. The archaeological evidence will be discussed below, along with the views of scholars on the issue.

The question regarding the physical arrangement of the deities and the emperors in the Greek sanctuaries has been examined by a number of scholars. The study by Simon Price, which explores the issue of temple-sharing primarily in Asia Minor, offers important arguments for this study. His work revisits the study which Arthur Darby Nock had discussed negatively in 1930,⁵⁶⁰ in which Nock concluded that there are very few instances of temple-sharing.⁵⁶¹ According to Price's exploration of the evidence from cities such as Ephesus, Pergamum, Priene, Sardis, Rhodiapolis, and Messene, and Athens, it can be argued that temple-sharing was common. For example, he refers to the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamum, pointing out that the temple of Asclepius in the sanctuary is more prominent than that of the emperor; both are in the same precinct. Although the inscription on the base of the statue refers to Hadrian as a 'god', the room for the emperor which is located in the northeast corner

⁵⁵⁹ Økland accepts Spaeth's view. Økland, 'Ceres', p. 224. Økland refers to B.S. Spaeth, 'Cultic Discontinuity in Roman Corinth: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth', Paper read at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Washington DC, 18 Nov 2006.

⁵⁶⁰ Arthur Darby Nock, 'ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΤΗΕΟΣ', *HSCP* 41, 1930, pp. 1-62.

⁵⁶¹ Nock, 'ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΤΗΕΟΣ', p. 37.

of the sanctuary is modest.⁵⁶² A similar arrangement can be seen in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Messene in Achaea, where a statue, possibly that of Augustus, is situated in a small room which is not a prominent part of the sanctuary.⁵⁶³ In addition to the architectural evidence, Price also refers to the evidence of coinage which depicts the image of the emperor offering sacrifice to the Greek god (e.g. Caracalla sacrificing to Asclepius at Pergamum), which strengthens his argument concerning the subordinate position of the emperor to the deities.⁵⁶⁴ From these pieces of evidence, he concludes that, especially in Asia Minor, the emperors did not compete with the traditional gods and their statues did not usurp the position of the Greek gods.⁵⁶⁵

Steven J. Friesen discusses the place of the emperor within the Greek sanctuaries, but he offers examples that contradict the points made by Price. Friesen refers to the evidence from the temple of the Sebastoi in Ephesus, and points out that the temples and the statues of the emperors are significantly larger than those of the Greek deities. Furthermore, his critique is that Price organized the evidence selectively.⁵⁶⁶ For example, Friesen questions Price's assertion that the sacrifices 'on behalf of' the emperor were more common than those 'to' the emperor. Thus, he argues that the evidence does not show such a clear picture, and it is difficult to generalize that the former case was normal. In other words, it is the question of the typicality of the evidence that is the key to the research, and it is important that the evidence is discussed in relation to the wider social context.

In this case, one explanation would be that, in Asia Minor, there was a competition among the cities in honouring the emperor to establish diplomatic ties with Rome. It is said that, during the time of Tiberius, eleven cities claimed that they provided the most suitable city for the location to erect the

⁵⁶² Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 148.

⁵⁶³ Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 183, p. 185, fig. 63; Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 148, n. 42. The fragments of the life-sized statue are dated to the Roman period. Price refers to A.K. Orlandos, 'Νεώτεροι Ἐρευναὶ ἐν Μεσσηνί' in *Neue Forschungen in griech. Heiligtümern* (ed. U. Jantzen; Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1976), pp. 9-38 (29).

⁵⁶⁴ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 153 and pl. 3e.

⁵⁶⁵ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 147.

⁵⁶⁶ Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), p. 148.

temple of the emperor.⁵⁶⁷ Under such circumstances, it may be possible that the emperor ordered his cult to be modest. Indeed, Suetonius records that Augustus stipulated that his cult should suit the tradition of Greek cults.⁵⁶⁸ Thus, it is crucial to interpret the archaeological evidence in relation to its context. However, it is felt that assessing the typicality or idiosyncrasy of each piece of evidence from Greek cities, and providing a catalogue is a task beyond the scope of this study. It may be difficult at this point to conclude whether the treatment of the evidence by Price is selective. Nonetheless, Friesen makes another point which is also important. He stresses that one cannot deduce the ‘relative status’ of the emperors and the Greek deities from the size of the archaeological artifacts, since they represent only the specific condition of the sanctuary. He explains, for example, that the depiction of Apollo may be smaller than that of his son, Asclepius, in the temple where Asclepius is the central deity, and that their size does not represent the general relationship of the two deities.⁵⁶⁹ Thus, Friesen’s critique is a methodological one, and is certainly true for the relationships among the Greek deities. However, one may also wonder whether his explanation is appropriate for the relationship between the Greek deities and the emperor. The Romans must have thought carefully about the depiction of the emperor in relation to Greek gods. The account by Suetonius may reflect the Roman consciousness of the issue: ‘He (Augustus) refused this honour most emphatically, even melting down the silver statues which had been set up in his honour in former times’.⁵⁷⁰ Considering that Tiberius also refers in his speech to the worshipping of his image (Tac. *Ann.* 4.37),⁵⁷¹ it is most likely that the emperors and the senate discussed the issues and had their views on how the temples and statues of the emperors should be erected in Greek cities. They possibly had some kind of policy on the physical arrangement that determined the relative status of the emperor and the Greek gods. The significant

⁵⁶⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, 4.55. Cf. M.W. Gleason, ‘Greek cities under Roman rule’, in *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (ed. David S. Potter; Chichester: Blackwell, 2010), p. 230.

⁵⁶⁸ Suet., *Aug.*, 52; Tac., *Ann.* 4.37. Cf. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 116.

⁵⁶⁹ Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, p. 74 and 147.

⁵⁷⁰ Suet., *Aug.*, 52 (Tr. J.C. Rolfe; London: Harvard University Press, 1970). The passage possibly needs to be examined in terms of the nature of the writing of Suetonius, and his intention behind the passage describing the humble attitude of Augustus and the eagerness of the people to honour him.

⁵⁷¹ ‘Yet to be consecrated in the image of deity through all the provinces would be vanity and arrogance, and the honour paid to Augustus will soon be a mockery, if it is vulgarized by promiscuous experiments in flattery.’ Tac., *Ann.*, 4.37 (Tr. John Jackson; London: Harvard University Press, 1970).

point that needs to be noted is that their policy must have differed according to the local condition of the time. The Romans might not have had one general policy that was applied to all the cities in the empire; rather, they made ongoing choices that they thought suitable for the city they ruled. It is thus important to take into account the social and political context in order to discuss the ‘emperor-Greek deity relationship’ in Corinth.

From the exploration above, it is possible to state that the context in which the cities of Asia Minor competitively sought for close association with the Roman emperor was at the other end of the spectrum from that of Corinth. In the colony of Corinth, the people the Romans ruled were those who were largely ex-slaves and the descendants of those who had been sent from Rome to rebuild the city, and there was a constant tension between the subject people and the ruler. The Romans resumed the cult of Asclepius but carefully remodelled it in such a manner that the Greek deity would not have social power. Furthermore, by bringing the people of Greek culture into the sanctuary, the Romans possibly designed the cult so that the people would be connected to the emperor. In such a context, the depiction of the emperor in the sanctuary of Asclepius must have been different from his depiction in the cities where people (possibly, especially the local elites) eagerly welcomed the emperor.

Finally, some points can be made regarding the question of identification of Augustus with Asclepius. Having explored the issue from literary, numismatic and archaeological evidence, it was possibly more difficult from a practical point of view for the Romans to promote the idea that the emperor was the incarnation of a specific deity through the physical arrangement of the sanctuary. In the case of imperial coinage, it is said that the distinction between the human emperor and the deity was portrayed ambiguously.⁵⁷² According to Wallace-Hadrill, this ambiguity was an implicit identification that was created intentionally. They implicitly asserted their ideal image of the emperor through the depiction of him, and this was seen for example in the design of Poseidon, as discussed above. The literary evidence can possibly be argued in the same manner. The description of the juxtaposing of the relationship between Apollo and Aesculapius and that of Julius Caesar and Octavian in *Metamorphoses* can also be seen as an implicit claim by Ovid. In other words, coinage

⁵⁷² Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Image and Authority’, p. 77; Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Emperor’, p. 315.

and literature were the modes of expression that could be employed to elaborate the sensitive issue, i.e. the incarnation of a deity in the Roman emperor. However, when the mode of expression is more concrete, the presentation would inevitably be direct; the ambiguity could not be expressed with the statues and spaces in the sanctuary. Thus, the two images of the emperor and the deity could not be combined vaguely in one, owing to the nature of the mode of expression. Thus, regardless of the sizes and the positions of the images, the statues or the herm of the emperor and those of Asclepius were possibly kept separately in the sanctuary.

In addition, the cult may have had different meanings to two groups of people. It was discussed above that the restored Greek cults in the Roman colony were worshipped by both the Romans and the Greek-speaking people. As Pausanias described the cult using Greek names, i.e. Asclepius, and Demeter and Kore, the people of Greek culture continued to believe in their gods in their original forms despite the fact that the old sanctuary was refurbished and rebuilt by the Romans. On the other hand, the Romans may have identified the deities that were familiar to them when they were in Rome, i.e. Aesculapius, and Ceres, Liber and Liberta. If it is accepted that the deities were addressed differently by the people of two different cultures, it is likely that it was not merely a matter of the names. For instance, the evidence from Rhodiapolis⁵⁷³ is worth mentioning. There are two Greek inscriptions from the Roman imperial era that contain different pieces of information: one inscription shows that the dedications of the temple and the statues were to Asclepius, Hygeia, the Sebastoi, and the city, whereas the other inscription refers to Asclepius and Hygeia, but not to Sebastoi or the city.⁵⁷⁴ From this inconsistency, Price points out the possibility that there were different ideas among the people about the sanctuary.⁵⁷⁵ Provided that the inscriptions are from the same period, it may be that the evidence suggests the presence of two groups even among the Greek-speaking people: those who were passionate loyalists of Rome, and those who wished to honour only the Greek deities and not the Roman emperor. Thus, it may also be possible to argue on

⁵⁷³ A city in ancient Lycia; a city of Antalya province in modern Turkey.

⁵⁷⁴ *IGR* III 732 (=TAM II 3, 906) and 733 (=TAM II 3, 910). Cf. Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 149, and p. 263, Cat. no. 77.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 149.

the basis of the evidence above that there may have been two ideas that were in constant tension among the believers within a single cult of Corinth.

In conclusion, this chapter can be summarized from the historical viewpoint of the colony of Corinth. At the time of Augustus, the situation in Corinth was still unstable to the extent that the Romans had to promote the specific message of their rule over the subject people, a large portion of whom were possibly the immigrants who had engaged in rebuilding of the colony since 44 BCE or their descendants. Since they were more likely to be those who had strong Greek cultural identity, and were proud of the culture of their old city, the Romans restored and utilized some of the cults, one of which was the cult of Asclepius, in order to control the people. Since the cults were resumed in the same location as the old Greek sanctuary, and not as a new cult in a new location, the people of Greek cultural background may have continued to enjoy the cult of Asclepius where their medical practice developed in the Roman era. At the same time, the cult of Asclepius that was re-established by the Romans was also popular among the Romans, whose population gradually increased after 27 BCE. The Romans in the colony may have identified the deity as Aesculapius of Rome, and believed in the strong association of the deity with Augustus as the one who would bring healing to the people, especially in the aftermath of the civil war. However, it is most likely that this element was not the primary concern for the Roman authorities in terms of ruling the colony and maintaining political stability, since there were other significant issues to be administered, such as the continuous tension with the people of Greek cultural roots and the need to proclaim the renewal of the Isthmian games. With this social background, the remodelling of the cult of Asclepius was crucial for the Romans, especially in terms of its function. The activities of the cult were possibly confined to the religious aspect (in a modern sense), and any Greek elements that would actively produce social power were abandoned. Thus, the Greek sacral manumission which generated the structure of loyalty to the central power was likely to have been banned. In addition, it is conceivable that, as in the case of Aesculapius in Apulum, the new form of sacral manumission under the authority of the emperor was starting to be practised. In short, the social function of the Greek cult was replaced with the imperial authority.

CHAPTER 5

MANUMISSION IN CORINTH AND 1 COR. 7:21

Having explored the social background of manumission and freedpersons in the Roman imperial context of Corinth, the study will now turn to the biblical passage. It is known that Paul refers to the issue of manumission in 1 Cor. 7:21 and discusses the question of transition of status. He also explains his theological thoughts on slaves and freedpersons in the following verse.⁵⁷⁶ However, since there is ambiguity in this passage, which will be discussed in detail, 1 Cor. 7:21 is known as one of the more difficult texts to interpret. The problem is that it is not certain from the text whether Paul is endorsing the act of manumission or not. This chapter will first explain the problems that are entailed in the interpretation of the passage, and then discuss the social contexts at the crux of the issue. It is hoped that the study of the actual social situation of Roman Corinth will shed light on the question of manumission in 1 Cor. 7:21 and help elucidate the intention behind Paul's text.

5.1 Interpretive problems

This section will first outline the problems of 1 Cor. 7:21 in order to understand the major points that make the verse difficult to interpret, and explain why the opinions of the scholars are divided. A survey of the interpretive problems is expected to provide a basic understanding that will apply throughout the history of interpretation in the latter half of this section. The scholarly views from the time of the church fathers to the modern period will be surveyed chronologically.

5.1.1 Outlining the issues

In 1 Corinthians Chapter 7, Paul discusses the issues of marriage, celibacy and divorce. Within this larger context, he refers to the issues of circumcision and manumission, which were important

⁵⁷⁶ In the New Testament, 'freedman' only appears in 1 Cor. 7:22 and in Acts 6:9. The passage in the book of Acts mentions that there was a so-called 'synagogue of the Roman freedmen' (Λιβερτίνων), which suggests their widespread presence in Roman society. It may also imply their connection with the synagogues in Rome.

transitions of status in the daily life of the people (vv. 17-24). The general theme that runs through these issues is that Paul teaches the Corinthians to remain in the condition in which they were called; in v. 18 and 19, he states that both circumcised and uncircumcised must not change their circumstances since the issue is of no importance. Paul then proceeds to discuss the issue of manumission in v. 21. If the question is understood in the same manner as in the case of circumcision, it can be assumed that slaves must remain as slaves. He adds that one should not be troubled by this matter, since, according to his theological account, there is a reversal of status (v. 22). Thus, the tenor of the passage appears to be that he advises a continuation of status. However, the verse which is the key to interpreting this passage is obscure. In v. 21, after writing that if a slave is able to become free, Paul uses the verb χρῆσαι⁵⁷⁷ (use [it]⁵⁷⁸), but omits the object (see the texts and the translations below). Thus, readers must fill in the ellipsis with an appropriate phrase or word, in addition to selecting a relevant meaning for each word in the sentence. The two major understandings that have been discussed by scholars are (a) to supply ‘slavery’ (τῇ δουλείᾳ) as the elliptical object of the verb, in which case v. 21cd would mean: ‘even if you are able to become free, use the condition of slavery more’ (i.e. ‘remain in slavery’); and (b) to supply ‘freedom’ (τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ) as the object, which would convey the contrary meaning: ‘if you are indeed able to become free, by all means, take freedom’. The earliest debate known on the question is stated in the work of John Chrysostom in the fourth century, which shows that there was a continuous debate about the understanding of the passage;⁵⁷⁹ and, as will be discussed, the debate still continues today.⁵⁸⁰ The major translations of the

⁵⁷⁷ The verb is the aorist imperative, 2nd person singular of a deponent verb χρᾶσθαι.

⁵⁷⁸ Other meanings have been suggested, e.g. Bartchy proposes the meaning as ‘to live according to’. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 156. See 5.2.4 for details.

⁵⁷⁹ ‘We are not ignorant that some say, the words, ‘use it rather’, are spoken with regards to liberty: interpreting it, ‘if you can become free, become free’. But the expression would be very contrary to Paul’s manner if he intended this.’ John Chrysostom, *Homily* 19, Pg 61: 155-64. Cf. John Byron, *Recent Research on Paul and Slavery* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), p. 94.

⁵⁸⁰ The commentators from ancient to modern who provide τῇ δουλείᾳ include Peshitto, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Bengel, De Wette, Weizsäcker, Heinrici, Alford, Edwards, Ellicott, Schmiedel, B. Weiss, Bachmann, Bousset, Lietzmann, J. Weiss, Sickenberger, Kiefl, Juncker, H.D. Wendland, Goodspeed. Those who provide τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ include Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Beza, Evans, Zahn, F. Godet, J.B. Lightfoot, Goudge, v. Walter, Steinmann, Schlatter, Moffatt. For the views of the more recent scholars, see the discussion below (5.1.2). Cf. Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (tr. W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich; Fourth revised and augmented ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), p.

Bible are almost equally divided into two camps,⁵⁸¹ but the balance of the opinions of recent scholars is said to have shifted toward the ‘take freedom’ view.⁵⁸² Before examining the history of interpretation in scholarship, it may first be important to give a brief outline of the problems in 1 Cor. 7:21, which may help us grasp a picture of the problems entailed in interpreting the crucial issues.

7:21

δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μή σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρήσαι.

[RSV] Were you a slave when called? Never mind. But if you can gain your freedom, avail yourself of the opportunity.⁵⁸³

[NRSV] Were you a slave when called? Do not be concerned about it. Even if you can gain your freedom, make use of your present condition now more than ever.⁵⁸⁴

7:22

ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δοῦλός ἐστιν Χριστοῦ.

[RSV] For he who was called in the Lord as a slave is a freedman of the Lord.

Likewise he who was free when called is a slave of Christ.

[NRSV] For whoever was called in the Lord as a slave is a freed person belonging to the Lord, just as whoever was free when called is a slave of Christ.

The two translations, namely RSV and NRSV, are given above as examples (note the

892; Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *A critical and exegetical commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments Series; 2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1961 [first published in 1911]), pp. 148; Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 6-7 (Table I: A Synopsis of the Interpretation of 1 Cor. 0721); A.C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 554-6.

⁵⁸¹ For the translations which suggest the reading of ‘remain in slavery’: NRSV, NJB. For the translations which suggest the reading of ‘take freedom’: AV/KJV, RV, RSV, TEV, NIV.

⁵⁸² Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 114. Briggs, ‘Bondage and Freedom’, p. 111. The third option has been proposed by Bartchy: ‘by all means, live according to [God’s calling]’. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 183.

⁵⁸³ The alternative translation is suggested in the footnote to 1 Cor. 7:21 in RSV: Or *make use of your present condition instead*.

⁵⁸⁴ The alternative translation is suggested in the footnote to 1 Cor. 7:21 in NRSV: Or *avail yourself of the opportunity*.

difference especially in v. 21). There are several elements to be considered that allow the passage to be interpreted in two ways.⁵⁸⁵ The main point is that the object of the verb $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ is absent, as mentioned above. The context of the passage favours the ‘remain in slavery’ reading, considering that Paul repeats the importance of ‘remaining in the condition when they were called’;⁵⁸⁶ thus, $\tau\eta$ δουλείᾳ can be supplied for the elliptical object of the verb. However, the tense and mood of the verb suggest the ‘take freedom’ interpretation, since the aorist imperative conveys the meaning of a ‘command to do something instantly, or once for all’;⁵⁸⁷ and not that of a continuous state. Thus,

⁵⁸⁵ The third possibility, proposed by Barchy, will be discussed below (5.2.4). Barchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 183.

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. 1 Cor. 7:17, 20, 24, 26.

⁵⁸⁷ C.F.D Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 20; cf. Margaret E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament: Linguistic and Exegetical Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), p. 82.

For example, the following scholars consider the aorist imperative of $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ to be a reason for the ‘take freedom’ interpretation: ‘the aorist $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$... could be employed far more naturally of using an opportunity than of continuing in a state’: John Edgar McFadyen, *The Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians* (Interpreter’s Commentary on the New Testament 6; New York: A.S. Barnes, 1909), p. 48; ‘Still more decidedly does the aorist ($\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$, not $\chi\rho\omega$) imply a new condition’: Robertson and Plummer, *First Epistle*, pp. 147-8; ‘In the latter case [i.e. ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation] one would have expected a ‘linear’ (Present) Imperative [and not aorist imperative]’: Moule, *An Idiom-Book*, p. 21; ‘the aorist imperative *chrēsai* suggests making use of a definite opportunity’: F.F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1992 [1971])p. 72; ‘it is the aorist imperative, which more naturally signifies the beginning of a new ‘use’ than the continuing of the old’: Leon Morris, *The first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians: An introduction and commentary* (Tyndale New Testament Commentaries; London: Tyndale Press, 1966 [1958]), p. 114.

While many scholars who maintain the so-called ‘take freedom’ interpretation refer to Moule’s work (*An Idiom-Book*, pp. 20-1), and invariably assume that aorist imperatives command action that is ‘once-off’ or short in duration (and present indicatives to be continuing action), Moule recognizes that there are exceptions that ‘make one wonder whether the underlying *rational* has yet been discovered’ (*An Idiom-Book*, p. 20 [italics his]).

Stanley E. Porter raises concerns that New Testament scholars in many cases follow this traditional view on aorist imperatives (and present imperatives) and ignore the ‘exceptions’; he points out that there are a large number of cases that do not follow traditional understanding (ex. reported by Donovan, Naylor, Poutsma, Louw and Bakker) and concludes that ‘the use of the verb tense alone will not prove which side is correct in this instance’ (Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (Studies in Biblical Greek 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1989), p. 357).

Constantine R. Campbell, who generally affirms Porter’s view, comments that ‘Porter’s critique must be heard, as must his surprise at the alarming reality that some grammarians continue to expound accepted axioms long after they have been debunked through scholarly inquiry’ (Constantine R. Campbell, *Verbal Aspect and Non-Indicative Verbs: Further Soundings in the Greek of the New Testament* (Studies in Biblical Greek 15; New York: Peter Lang, 2008), p. 82). Campbell explains that the conventional view, i.e. the opposition between present and aorist imperatives, is based on *Aktionsart* categories that explain verbs on a pragmatic level and cannot be the key to understanding semantic qualities. He argues that there is a need for explanations that distinguish pragmatics and semantics, and that further understanding on both sides enables the development of ‘core values’ that clarify the underlying rational on the issue (pp. 79-83).

from the grammatical account, it is likely that τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ would be the object of the verb. In addition to this discussion, there are four other main grammatical, lexical and structural elements to be considered,⁵⁸⁸ which will be outlined below.

(1) The combination of the two particles, εἰ καί, often introduces a concessive clause, i.e. ‘although’ or ‘even though’;⁵⁸⁹ 2 Cor. 4:16, 7:8a, 7:8c, 12:11 provide examples of this usage.⁵⁹⁰ As the NRSV takes this view and translates the particles as ‘even if’, this understanding naturally leads the sentence to conclude ‘remain in slavery’. However, if they were understood separately, καί would become emphatic and would modify the δύνασθαι (you are able) or the following clause;⁵⁹¹ examples of this use can be found in the same chapter: 1 Cor. 7:11 and 28.⁵⁹² In addition, the conjunction ἀλλά at the beginning of v. 21c (in front of the εἰ καί) cannot be dismissed; it is said that the strong oppositional meaning of ἀλλά separates v. 21cd from the previous clauses, and thus serves to introduce a new command in order to speak directly to the slaves among those to whom Paul addressed the letter.⁵⁹³ The passage is thus interpreted as: ‘but if you can *indeed* gain freedom, take that opportunity’. As shown above, the translation of the RSV is based on this understanding.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 8-9; C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; 2nd ed.; London: A & C Black, 1971 [first published 1968]), pp. 170-1; G. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1988 [1987]), pp. 315-8; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, pp. 553-9. Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 93.

⁵⁸⁹ E.g. Jean Héring, *The first epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (tr. from the 2nd French ed. by A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock; London: Epworth Press, 1962), p. 55. Cf. C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1953), p. 167 n. 3. For detailed discussions on εἰ καί, see: Thrall, *Greek Particles*, pp. 79-81.

⁵⁹⁰ Thrall, *Greek Particles*, pp. 79.

⁵⁹¹ Thrall, *Greek Particles*, pp. 79. While Jean Héring argues that εἰ καί ‘always’ has a concessive meaning, C.F.D. Moule, against Héring, considers that καί should be taken closely with δύνασθαι, and translates the clause as: ‘*but if you can secure your freedom, prefer to take the opportunity*’ (italics are by Moule). Héring, *First epistle*, p. 55; Moule, *Idiom Book*, p. 167 n. 3.

In addition, there are three textual variants of this verse which omit the καί: F (010): Codex Augiensis, and G(012): Codex Boernerianus, both from the 9th century CE; (a): Individual Old Latin manuscript (translation). Harrill, for example, considers that these omissions are accidental, rather than the deliberate redaction by scribes in order to interpret the text as ‘take freedom’. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 119.

⁵⁹² Thrall, *Greek Particles*, p. 81.

⁵⁹³ E.g. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 113, n. 429; 158, n. 547.

⁵⁹⁴ However, RSV does not translate the emphatic sense of καί.

(2) The $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ ⁵⁹⁵ can be used for the adverb ‘more’ to qualify a verb (e.g. ‘use the condition of slavery *more*’); however, J.H. Moulton, for example, considers it to be an elative comparative, and translates it as ‘by all means’,⁵⁹⁶ which assumes that the following sentence would be ‘take freedom’. On the other hand, if the adverb is a contrasting comparative, meaning ‘rather’, the reader must define what Paul is contrasting, which could be either of the following understandings: i.e. even if you are able to become free (v. 21c), ‘*rather*, remain in slavery’;⁵⁹⁷ or, in contrast with not being concerned about being a slave (v. 21ab), ‘*rather*, take freedom’.⁵⁹⁸

(3) Moving on to the next verse (v. 22), Paul explains a theological concept with a conjunction $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$. With this conjunction, he introduces a reason for what he has just stated in the previous verse. The question is to which part of the previous verse Paul is referring, namely v. 21ab or cd. If v. 22 is referring to the immediately preceding clauses (v. 21cd), it would seem natural to understand v. 21cd as ‘remain in slavery’.⁵⁹⁹ This is because Paul explains the reversal of their situations through belonging to Christ in v. 22; thus, it would mean: even if you are able to gain freedom, remain in slavery, for there is the reversal of status.

However, v. 22 could also be referring to v. 21ab.⁶⁰⁰ In these clauses, Paul advises that one should not be concerned about being a slave. Paul here may particularly have in mind the slaves who are in a situation where they cannot gain manumission, and the reason why they should not be

⁵⁹⁵ Comparative of $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$.

⁵⁹⁶ J.H. Moulton states that the instances where $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ is elative in the New Testament are: Mt. 6:26 and 1 Cor. 7:21. Thus, he translates the clause in question as ‘by all means seize (the opportunity)’. J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (vol. 2; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908-1976) p. 165 n. 1; Bartsch, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΙΣ*, p. 8; Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 317; Dawes, ‘But if you can gain your freedom’, p. 691; Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 93.

⁵⁹⁷ ‘ $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ ’ in *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Walter Bauer’s Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur; fourth revised and augmented edition, 1952; tr. and ed. W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, 1957), p. 490. It is explained that the $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ in 1 Cor. 7:21 is used in the sense of ‘for a better reason’ i.e. ‘rather they are to continue as slaves’.

⁵⁹⁸ E.g. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 118 and 120.

⁵⁹⁹ Most of the scholars who support the ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation consider that v. 22 explains the reason for the immediately preceding clause (v. 21cd). E.g. Barrett takes this view. Barrett, *Corinthians*, pp. 170-1.

⁶⁰⁰ E.g. Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 318. Dawes, ‘But if you can gain your freedom’, p. 692.

troubled by the idea of becoming free is that there is the reversal that Paul teaches (v. 22). The difference from the above understanding is that it isolates v. 21cd from the immediate context and allows it to carry an independent meaning. Thus, the meaning of ‘take freedom’ in v. 21cd can be held to be: ‘but for those who are indeed able to gain freedom, by all means, take that opportunity’. In this view, v. 21cd would be understood as a comment in parentheses, intended to add an exception to the general idea that they should remain in their current condition.⁶⁰¹

(4) In addition to the above points, the structure of 7:17-24 also needs to be considered. Readers will notice that there is a repetition of a certain phrase in the passage. A similar phrase, such as ἑκάστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη (in whatever condition each one was called...: v. 24), appears in v. 17, 20 and 24, which frame the passage,⁶⁰² and according to Thiselton, this structure is considered to be a quasi-chiasm.⁶⁰³ In these verses (v. 17, 20 and 24), Paul teaches that each person should remain and live the life in which they were called; and between these verses are the issues of the two kinds of change in their daily life, namely circumcision and un-circumcision, and manumission and self-enslavement.⁶⁰⁴ Thus, the structure of 7:17-24 seems to strengthen the theme of remaining in the present condition.⁶⁰⁵ Considering that Paul also discusses the theme of married and unmarried life in

⁶⁰¹ For the understanding that v. 21cd can be considered as a comment in parenthesis, see the opinions of scholars such as Godet, Lightfoot, and Robertson and Plummer, in the discussion below (5.2)

⁶⁰² Harrill considers that this structure highlights an *inclusio* (i.e. κλήσις, ‘calling’). Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 122-3.

⁶⁰³ Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 548.

⁶⁰⁴ On the point that Paul writes that one should not become slaves of men in v. 23, it has been pointed out that there has been a practice of free or freedpersons becoming slaves of others (self-enslavement) in ancient society (for evidence: e.g. *1 Clement*, 55.2). Thus, some scholars consider that Paul, in this passage, counsels that one should not sell oneself to slavery. Bruce W. Winter, for example, stresses the possibility of self-sale, especially to become imperial slaves, which might have been an attractive option for people who sought for social advancement. B.W. Winter, *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994), pp. 154,162. For others, see D.B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 41; Bartsch, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 46-8, 116. Scholars who support this view generally seem to understand the condition of slavery in the first century CE as a lenient state.

However, the scale of this custom has been questioned by scholars, e.g. Briggs, ‘Bondage and Freedom’, pp. 110- 123 (113-4); Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 30, 96. ‘However, this activity was neither regular in Rome nor widespread throughout its empire; at no time did self-sale provide a major supply of slaves’ (Harrill, p. 30).

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Peter Trummer, ‘Die Chance der Freiheit: Zur Interpretation des μᾶλλον χρῆσαι in 1 Kor 7, 21’, *Bib* 56 (1975), pp. 344-368 (348-50). However, Trummer supports the ‘take freedom’ interpretation.

the same chapter (1 Cor.7), and his general principle is: ‘remain as you are’ (v. 26, cf. 8, 10, 13, 40), his teaching of acceptance of the status quo seems to run through the whole chapter. However, at the same time, it is also important to note that Paul considers exceptions to the general rule. For example, in vv. 8-9, Paul first advises the unmarried and the widowed to remain unmarried; after writing this general principle, he adds an exception: ‘but if they are not practising self-control, they should marry. For it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion’ (v. 9, NRSV). In vv. 13-16, he writes to those who are married to unbelievers that they must not divorce; but, again, he immediately continues, ‘if the unbelieving partner separates, let it be so; in such a case the brother or sister is not bound. It is to peace that God has called you’ (v. 15, NRSV). Therefore, it can be argued that Paul similarly adds an exceptional case to what he wrote in v. 21ab; that is, slaves among the Corinthians should not be concerned about changing their status, but if indeed they are able to be emancipated, they must take that opportunity.

In relation to the structure of vv. 17-24, the social aspect of circumcision and manumission also needs to be mentioned. In the letter, Paul places the two issues in parallel to each other in vv. 18-19 and 21-23, but there is a difference in what he counsels: Paul instructs the circumcised and uncircumcised *not to change* their conditions (v. 18); on the other hand, his command on manumission is, ‘do not let it trouble you’ (μή σοι μελέτω) (v. 21ab). The reason for this difference might be related to the nature of the two issues; circumcision (and un-circumcision) were matters that people could choose to practise, and there was no power that prohibited the people from doing so, at least compared to manumission; however, in gaining manumission, slaves possibly had no choice; it was solely by the intention of the master that the decision was made.⁶⁰⁶ Thus, Paul must have intended to nuance his command according to the actual situation in which they lived. In addition, the issue of gaining manumission in v. 21 is written in the second person singular⁶⁰⁷ (‘Were you a slave when called?’ v. 21a), which suggests that Paul is writing specifically to those who live in a particular context in Corinth. This is more apparent when compared to the issue of circumcision and

⁶⁰⁶ E.g. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 118; Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 317-8.

⁶⁰⁷ ἐκλήθης: second person singular, aorist passive.

un-circumcision, on which Paul writes in the third person singular⁶⁰⁸ (‘Was anyone at the time of his call uncircumcised?’ v. 18).⁶⁰⁹ This difference also suggests that Paul is handling the issue of manumission carefully by differentiating it from circumcision. It is possible, therefore, that, instead of dealing with the two issues in the same manner, he made a distinction between them, and prudently described the issue of manumission as an exception to what he had already stated.

As the above overview shows, there are reasonable arguments in favour of each of the interpretations. It has also been said that there is a broad tendency for the scholars who assert the ‘take freedom’ interpretation to argue on the basis of grammatical reasons (especially the tense of *χρησάι*), whereas the scholars who support the ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation stress the context of the passage.⁶¹⁰ However, since the theme with which Paul deals is a social issue, it is important to explore the question of 1 Cor. 7:21 in the light of the social situation in Corinth. For example, it may be important to take into account the elements of Roman rule in Corinth, since manumission is considered to be a means of social control, as discussed in the previous chapters. Before exploring the crux of 1 Cor. 7:21 from the social aspect of Corinth, the study will turn to the history of interpretation.

5.1.2 Research history

The interpretations of the church fathers

The earliest extant records that comment on 1 Cor. 7:21 are those of Tertullian and Origen. Tertullian does not write an interpretation of this specific verse, but engages with the passage in his work on monogamy. By referring to the issues of circumcision and manumission as teachings of acceptance of

⁶⁰⁸ ἐκλήθη: third person singular, aorist passive; κέκληται: third person singular, perfect indicative passive.

⁶⁰⁹ This is also consistent with the fact that v. 22 is the only reference to freedpersons in his letters. Indeed, there were considerable numbers of Roman freedpersons in every Roman city in the Mediterranean world during the first century CE, but Corinth historically had strong connections with the issues of Roman freedpersons, as explained in the previous chapters. Considering that Paul stayed in Corinth for eighteen months, it is natural to assume that Paul was well acquainted with that situation in Corinth.

⁶¹⁰ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 76; Byron, *Recent Research*, pp. 103-4.

the status quo, he emphasizes that the same principle can be seen in divorce and marriage. In other words, Tertullian, without questioning, assumes that slaves must remain in slavery (*De monogamia*, 11.18). Origen also understands the passage as a metaphor of marriage. In his comment on v. 21,⁶¹¹ he makes a close connection with the contents stated in 1 Cor. 7:4-5: i.e. the idea that the authority over one's body belongs to one's spouse, and the suggestion of spending individual time in prayer. After suggesting the action of taking freedom, he cites 7:5 'by agreement, to devote yourselves to prayer' (ἐκ συμφώνου ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ).⁶¹² Thus, it may be difficult to conclude that Origen suggested a so-called 'take freedom' interpretation since he interprets the idea of taking freedom in close relation to marriage. While Tertullian and Origen offered only a single understanding of 1 Cor. 7:21, John Chrysostom wrote that there are two different interpretations that are mutually exclusive, and recorded the problem that lies in this verse, in the fourth century⁶¹³ In his *Homily*, he intends to correct those who interpret the clause as 'take freedom' by a brief explanation. He states that if Paul had said that you must take freedom *if you are able*, it would inevitably exclude those who are *unable*, such as those 'injured and degraded persons'. Chrysostom considers that Paul would not have made such comments and stresses the alternative, i.e. remain in slavery. It may be worthwhile to note that the first known debate on the crux of 1 Cor. 7:21 was concerned with the understanding of δύνασσι (you are able).

Just as Chrysostom stressed the understanding of 'remain in slavery', other patristic authors from the fourth and fifth century such as Ambrosiaster,⁶¹⁴ Severian, bishop of the Syrian city Gabala,⁶¹⁵ Pelagius,⁶¹⁶ Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria,⁶¹⁷ and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (or

⁶¹¹ Comm. in 1 Cor. 38.

⁶¹² Note that Origen omits two phrases in his biblical citation from 7:5: i.e. πρὸς καιρὸν ('for a set time') and καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε ('and you may be together again'), which may reflect his intention of omitting a certain time-frame when becoming free from marriage. For the text of Origen, see: Claude Jenkins, ed., 'Origen on I Corinthians, III' *JTS* 9 (1908), pp. 500-514 (508). Cf. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 77.

⁶¹³ *Homily* 19, Pg 61: 155-64.

⁶¹⁴ It is believed that Ambrosiaster wrote his commentaries during the period of Pope Damasus 1: i.e. 366-384 CE (before the Vulgate was translated). His works had long been attributed to Ambrose until Erasmus pointed out its erroneousness in the sixteenth century CE.

⁶¹⁵ Before 380 CE–after 408 CE.

Cyrus) in Syria,⁶¹⁸ held the same position.⁶¹⁹ For example, Theodoret, in his explanation of the verse, stresses the aspect of the grace of God in an authoritative tone: ‘Grace knows not a difference between slavery and lordship. Therefore, do not flee from slavery as [being] unworthy of the faith. But if it happens that you may be free, continue being a slave (ἀλλὰ καὶ τυχεῖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ δυνάτον, ἐπίμεινον δουλεύων).’⁶²⁰ While Theodoret argues that, under the grace of God, there is no difference between slaves and masters, the theological account which Cyril of Alexandria makes has an eschatological emphasis.⁶²¹ In his explanation, 1) he loosely cites Isaiah 24:2 in order to stress that all people, both priests and ordinary people and slaves and masters, are equally under the judgment of God; 2) his account focuses on the future and explains that those who carry their ‘yoke (ζυγός)’ will be brought back to the original condition by the Lord (ἐν ἀρχαῖς τοῦ κυρίου); 3) finally, he concludes the paragraph with a quote from the Book of Psalms (most likely 119:91) to stress that all things are ultimately the servants of the Lord. Thus, the idea of ‘original condition’ in the future provided slaves with the idea of equality. On the other hand, Ambrosiaster offers a more extensive and sophisticated explanation than the previous authors despite the fact that he is one of the earliest authors among the patristic theologians of the fourth century CE along with Chrysostom. In his comment on v. 21,⁶²² Ambrosiaster first defends the position of Paul: the reason why Paul teaches slaves to ‘remain in slavery’ is that Paul is concerned that disloyal slaves among the Corinthians might ‘give the teaching of Christ a bad name’. He also stresses the importance of obedience by commenting that God favours those who are faithful in little things (Lk. 16:10). Of note, his comment

⁶¹⁶ fl. ca. 390 CE–418 CE. Pelagius supplies ‘*magis utere servitio* (rather use slavery)’ to fill in the ellipsis of his Vulgate translation of Pauline texts.

⁶¹⁷ ca. 376 CE–444 CE.

⁶¹⁸ ca. 397 CE–ca. 457 CE.

⁶¹⁹ cf. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 14, n. 30; Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 94-5.

⁶²⁰ *Patrologia Graeca*, 82, 280; Tr. by Callahan: Allen Callahan, ‘A Note on I Corinthians 7:21’, *The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 17 (1989-1990), pp. 110-14 (110).

⁶²¹ *Patrologia Graeca*, 74, 877, B.

⁶²² Ambrosiaster, *Ancient Christian Texts: Commentaries on Romans and 1-2 Corinthians* (tr. Gerald L. Bray; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2009), p. 153. Original text: (CSEL) Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in Epistulas Paulinas* (ed. H.J. Vogels; 3 vols., Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1966-1969).

on v. 22 is closely related to the ‘deliverance of sins’. According to Ambrosiaster, the idea of the ‘slave of Christ’ in this verse is that all people are formally ‘free from God, which is the biggest sin’, but by receiving ‘the forgiveness of sins’, one would become a slave of Christ. He strengthens this point by quoting, ‘Take my yoke upon you, because it is easy, and my burden, because it is light (Mt. 11:29-30)’. Thus, for Ambrosiaster, people would belong to Christ by being forgiven their sins, by which people would receive the ‘true mark of slavery’. He explains that this point would help do away with the proud thoughts of a free person so that a slave would not ‘consider himself despised’, consequently creating ‘a new unity’. It may be worthwhile to note that this is a rare example among the patristic authors that showed at least to some degree how *slaves* may have *felt*. In any case, the overall position of Ambrosiaster is represented in his emphasis on the importance of humbleness and submissive attitude based on his theological reflection.

While these points that were stressed by authors of the fourth and fifth century CE may have offered slaves a hope for the future, it may be said that they have not only kept the earthly conditions of slaves unchanged but also served to theologically underpin the understanding of the status quo of the system of slavery.

The interpretations of the medieval period

The same view seemed to have continued during the medieval period. Peter Lombard, an influential twelfth-century theologian and bishop of Paris, gives, in his commentary, the following accounts.⁶²³ He first stresses the rewards in the future, especially in that the more one is humiliated in this world, the higher one will be exalted; this teaching is found in 1 Pet. 5:5-6.⁶²⁴ Second, he explains the reason behind the fact that those who are in the condition of slavery must not be concerned – the master is equally the servant of God. Although he does not specifically fill in the ellipsis of v. 21, it is clear from his emphases that his theological position is the same as the view of the church fathers. It is said that his reflections are very often based on the views of patristic authors and their comments appear in

⁶²³ Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in Epist. D. Pauli, Ep. 1 ad Cor.* (Patrologia Latina, 191, 1595, B).

⁶²⁴ The teaching in 1 Pet. 5:5-6 is combined with the exhortation of submission to the elders.

his works,⁶²⁵ and indeed, this is true for his interpretation on v. 21 as he refers to Augustine and Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) in his explanation.

Thomas Aquinas, in his commentary on 1 Corinthians,⁶²⁶ writes on this verse, ‘sed, potius, si potes fieri liber, maneat in servitute, quia causa est humilitatis. (but more importantly, if you are able to be made free, stay in slavery for the sake of humility)’; in the same style as the commentary of Peter Lombard, he refers to several authors such as Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) and comments that those who were humiliated for the sake of the Lord will be exalted in the future. It is worth noting that Thomas Aquinas makes a comment similar to that of Peter Lombard on ‘do not become slaves of men’ (v. 23). Since they both cite 1 Cor. 1:12, ‘I am of Paul, or I of Apollos’, and warn that such behaviour of belonging to human beings is ‘superstition’,⁶²⁷ it may be reasonable to consider that either Aquinas referred to the commentary of Lombard or they both referred to the same theological material. Indeed, on this verse, Ambrosiaster had written a comment already in the fourth century that to become a slave of someone is, in practice, to say ‘I am of Paul, I of Apollos...’ which is a ‘human superstition’.⁶²⁸ Therefore, the similarity of the texts suggest that the commentary of Ambrosiaster has been a ‘textbook’ for Lombard and Aquinas.⁶²⁹ In any case, it is possible to trace the continuous thoughts from the patristic period to the medieval period among the theologians, and the common and dominant theological reasons behind the teaching to remain in slavery can be observed in their commentaries.

⁶²⁵ Ian Christopher Levy, *The Bible in Medieval tradition: The letter to the Galatians*, (tr. and ed. Ian Christopher Levy; Cambridge: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2011), p. 52; Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), p. 231.

⁶²⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Epistolae Pauli, Ep. 1 ad Corinthos*, no. 369-372; the quote is taken from no. 369.

⁶²⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Epistolae Pauli: 1 ad Cor.*, 371; Peter Lombard, *Patrologia Latina*, 191, 1595, D.

⁶²⁸ Ambrosiaster (tr. G.L. Bray), *1-2 Corinthians*, p. 153.

⁶²⁹ It has been pointed out in the other works of Aquinas that he does not simply follow the traditional views, but explains the biblical text productively using the exposition of Lombard. Alexander Fidora, ‘Augustine to Aquinas (Latin-Christian Authors)’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas* (eds. Brian Davies and Eleonore Stump, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 51.

The interpretations of the Reformers

The interpretations of the Reformers led to a significant change in the understanding of 1 Cor. 7:21. For example, the traditional views that had continued since the patristic authors are not found in the commentaries of John Calvin and Martin Luther.

John Calvin comments on two of the interpretive problems in the passage. With regard to the clause, v. 21c ('but even if you can become free'), he finds that there is a difficulty in understanding εἰ καί; this is because the combination of the two words would convey a concessive sense, 'even though', which implies the 'remain in slavery' interpretation. On this point, he briefly comments that the word 'even' has less emphasis. He also considers that it is not certain whether Paul may be addressing slaves or those who were already emancipated, and explains that the verb 'γενέσθαι (become)' can simply mean 'to be'. In his brief comments, he admits the ambiguities in the texts and the difficulties in interpretation; however, his position is clear as he states: 'Paul means to show not only that freedom is good, but also that it gives more opportunity than slavery'.⁶³⁰ Martin Luther also interprets the passage as, 'if you can gain your freedom, avail yourself of the opportunity.' He articulates his point by explaining how the passage is not to be understood. For example, on the one hand, he comments that 'you are *not* to interpret the words of St Paul ... to mean that you must remain a serf, even though you could gain your freedom'.⁶³¹ On the other hand, he also avoids his comments to be misunderstood by stating that Paul is not encouraging slaves to 'rob your master', but what is important is the 'the consent of your master'. It may well be that his explanation reflects the social context of the peasant revolts of the time. In any case, Luther confidently stresses that 'he (Paul) does not want to hold you back from gaining your freedom, if you can do so'.⁶³²

⁶³⁰ John Calvin, *The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians* (tr. John W. Fraser; Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1960), pp. 153-4.

⁶³¹ Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 28, *Commentaries on 1 Corinthians 7, 1 Corinthians 15, Lectures on 1 Timothy* (tr. Edward Sittler; St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973), pp. 42-3 (my italics).

⁶³² Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, pp. 42-3. Cf. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 79-80, and n. 47; Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 96.

The scholarship of the nineteenth century

During the rise of the abolition movement in the West in the nineteenth century, scholarly opinions were also involved in the severe tension between abolitionist and slaveholders. In this context, 1 Cor. 7:21 became one of the key passages of debate. Some of the important works will be mentioned below to survey how the scholars of biblical studies and history interpreted the text.

French historian Henri Wallon, a prize-winner of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques,⁶³³ published his work that criticized modern slavery especially that of French colonies in the West Indies in 1847. Some scholars found that his publication had a great impact on the abolition movement, considering that French slavery was completely abolished by law in 1848, a year after the publication of his work.⁶³⁴ In the work, Wallon interpreted the ellipsis of v. 21 as ‘take freedom’.⁶³⁵ Moses Finley explains that Wallon had created a ‘doctrine’ that the early church was against slavery, and the same assertion appeared in many of the works published after his own work.⁶³⁶ Another French scholar who gained much attention among those who followed Wallon was Paul Allard, whose work in 1876 was published in six editions. In his interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21, he strengthened the argument of Wallon by stating that his liberal understanding of the text was consistent with the context and the theology of Paul.⁶³⁷

On the other side of the Atlantic, especially during the outbreak of the Civil War,⁶³⁸ one of the topics being debated was the exegetical theory of the Bible regarding slavery.⁶³⁹ Scholars from

⁶³³ This was awarded to him in 1837 for his work on slavery and serfdom.

⁶³⁴ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 80.

⁶³⁵ H. Wallon, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité* (2nd ed.; Vol. 3: Paris: Hachette, 1879 [first published 1847]), pp. 5-6, esp. p. 5, n. 3; Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 80; Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 97.

⁶³⁶ Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), p. 83.

⁶³⁷ It is interesting that, along with the reference to Wallon, Allard also refers to the 16-17th century Jesuit theologian, Cornelius a Lapide (and not the Reformers), and comments that their liberal understanding of the text is consistent with the doctrine of Paul: ‘considèrent le sens le plus libéral comme plus conforme au contexte et à l'ensemble de la doctrine de saint Paul’. Paul Allard, *Les esclaves chrétiens depuis les premiers temps de l'Église jusqu'à la fin de la domination Romaine en Occident* (6th ed.; Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1914), pp. 168-9, n. 5; cf. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 81.

⁶³⁸ The Civil War: 1861-65.

⁶³⁹ Cf. Robert Bruce Mullin, ‘Biblical Critics and the Battle Over Slavery’, *Journal of Presbyterian History* 61 (1983), pp. 210-226.

divinity schools discussed the ways in which abolition of slavery could be derived from biblical passages.⁶⁴⁰ On the other hand, pro-slavery camps also engaged with biblical texts. The following example shows how the campaigners referred to the interpretations of various biblical scholars; in a pamphlet written under the pseudonymous name of ‘Onesimus Secundus’, a passage from the commentary of an English biblical scholar, Henry Alford, is summarized (*The Greek New Testament*; first edition published in 1849). In the passage on 1 Cor 7:21 which argues that the text is to be interpreted as ‘remain in slavery’, Alford gives a grammatical account and comments that the ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation has been supported by scholars since the time of ancient authors such as Chrysostom. The anonymous author of this pamphlet adds that these remarks were made by Alford who was one of the leading biblical scholars of the time.⁶⁴¹

Three other examples from the commentators from the late nineteenth century are mentioned below. During this period, the foci of the interpretive problems became clearer and New Testament scholars debated these issues. T.C. Edwards, in his commentary published in 1885,⁶⁴² focuses on the issue of ἐῖ καί. He explains that there are two possibilities: one is that the combination of the two elements create an opposition between the protasis and the apodosis, and can be translated as ‘although’ (i.e. concessive); the second is that they can be understood separately and the καί holds an emphatic meaning (i.e. modifies the following verb or phrase). However, it is important to note that Edwards contends that even if the καί is used in the emphatic sense, the protasis is still contrasted with the apodosis, as: ‘if thou canst be even free, still remain a slave’.⁶⁴³ He further adds that if Paul had meant the two clauses not to be in contrast, but in homogeneity, i.e. ‘if thou canst be free, accept thy freedom’, Paul would have omitted the καί. Overall, his opinion to opt for ‘remain in slavery’ is based on weighing the context of the passage, ‘in keeping with the whole tenor of the passage.’⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁰ E.g. one of the influential works published was by a scholar at Harvard Divinity School: William Ellery Channing, *Slavery* (Birmingham: Edward C. Osborne, 1836).

⁶⁴¹ For the pamphlet, see: Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 82.

⁶⁴² Thomas Charles Edwards, *A commentary on the First epistle to the Corinthians* (2nd ed.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1885), p. 183.

⁶⁴³ Edwards, *commentary*, p. 183.

⁶⁴⁴ Edwards, *commentary*, p. 183.

The Swedish theologian F.L. Godet, in his commentary in 1886,⁶⁴⁵ made a five-page-long comment on v. 21. He begins by summarizing the crux from three interpretive problems. First, those who support the ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation usually argue that the meaning of the εἰ καὶ is contrastive; second, v. 22, apparently, explains the reason behind the “remain in slavery” teaching; and third, the larger context of the passage counsels to ‘remain in the condition when they were called’. Nonetheless, he argues that Paul commands the slave to take freedom from the following three points.

1) He considers that the εἰ καὶ is to be read separately which could, according to him, mean ‘if therewith’, and not in combination which signifies the contrast sense ‘although’.⁶⁴⁶ 2) v. 22 can also be an explanation for the ‘take freedom’ interpretation in v. 21. It is very often thought that the conjunction in the beginning of the verse, ‘γάρ (for)’, assumes that the verse would provide an account of the previous sentence, and the verse gives the theological explanation that reverses the statuses of the slaves and the free. Therefore, the preceding verse (v. 21) is considered to imply the meaning of remaining in slavery. Godet challenges this understanding of other scholars, including that of Edwards,⁶⁴⁷ his contemporary. Godet is confident that v. 21cd is ‘a sort of parenthesis’,⁶⁴⁸ one of the supporting points the recent scholars who support the ‘take freedom’ interpretation would agree with, as will be explained below. 3) With regard to the apparent discrepancy in the larger context, he explains that v. 21 is a ‘restriction’ brought into a general principal of status quo, commenting further that the parallel can also be found in v. 15-16,⁶⁴⁹ where Paul permits the believer for their spouse (who is not a believer) to depart as an exception to a general rule. Similarly, the slave among the Corinthians ‘is authorized to take advantage of any opportunity which occurs’.⁶⁵⁰ In addition to the

⁶⁴⁵ Frédéric Louis Godet, *St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians* (tr. A. Cousin; vol. 1; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889), pp. 356-61.

⁶⁴⁶ Godet, *Corinthians*, p. 358.

⁶⁴⁷ On v. 22, Godet quotes from the comment of Edwards: ‘a reason why the Christian slave should continue a slave rather than accept liberty’. Godet, *Corinthians*, p. 362.

⁶⁴⁸ Godet, *Corinthians*, p. 362.

⁶⁴⁹ In addition to v. 15-16, v. 9 and v. 11 can be seen as parallels to v. 21.

⁶⁵⁰ Godet, *Corinthians*, p. 359.

above arguments, Godet considers that slavery in the first century CE was humane, the view which has strongly been questioned by recent scholarship, as will be discussed below.⁶⁵¹

Joseph B. Lightfoot, in his commentary which was published in 1895, six years after his death, offers a clear explanation of the problems.⁶⁵² Commenting that most of the patristic interpretations are of the understanding of ‘remain in slavery’, he argues the contrary view arguing that the ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation, v. 21 and 22 would be continuous whereas in the case of ‘take freedom’, v. 21cd would be parenthetical. He also acknowledges that the issue of εἰ καὶ can be translated in two ways: either the concessive sense, i.e. ‘although’ (as in Phil. 2:17, Col. 2:5, Lk 11:8) or the simple ‘if’ (Lk 11:18, cf. ἐὰν καὶ in 1 Cor. 7.11, Gal. 6.1). However, regarding the problem of the ellipsis in v. 21d, in his view, it would be more preferable to understand this problem as ‘take freedom’, since, first, χρῆσθαι is used idiomatically to convey the meaning of ‘to avail oneself of an opportunity offered’ which also appears in 1 Cor 9:12, 15; and second, it is natural to supply τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ from the immediate sentence than τῇ δουλείᾳ from a more distant clause.

In addition to the above explanation, he writes that ‘the main argument’ is to do with the more advantageous position of a free man for doing ‘God’s work’ than of a slave being fettered in every sense.⁶⁵³ Although it may seem obvious, it is thought that the *purpose* of being emancipated has not been discussed much in other commentaries (and possibly not even in recent studies). Lightfoot further adds that Paul must have had a strong sense of freedom in terms of his own circumstances, especially of his rights as being a Roman citizen (Acts 16:37, 22:25ff). His comment made in the nineteenth century stresses the importance of approaching the problem from the perspective of the ministry of Paul.

The scholarship of the twentieth century (before 1970)

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the work of Adolf von Harnack in Germany introduced a

⁶⁵¹ Godet, *Corinthians*, p. 361.

⁶⁵² Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of St Paul from unpublished commentaries* (London: Macmillan, 1895), pp. 229-30.

⁶⁵³ Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles*, p. 230.

new trend in the field of the history of Christianity. His publication in 1904 that articulated the expansion of Christianity in antiquity includes his important view on slavery and the early church.⁶⁵⁴ Harnack acknowledges that primitive Christianity was not indifferent to the issues of slaves. He adduces examples, such as where the emancipation of slaves was seen as a praiseworthy action since the beginning, and there were cases where the communal fund of the church was used to pay the ransom of slaves.⁶⁵⁵ All church members, including slaves, had the same rights;⁶⁵⁶ however, Harnack is of the opinion that the source of reform originates from moral philosophy and economic necessities, rather than the early teaching of Christianity. For example, although the masters were to treat their slaves as brothers and sisters, Christian slaves were not allowed to consider themselves as equals; he also considers that the church did not regard the rights of masters over slaves as inequality or sin. Equally, he observes that it is fallacious to assume that there was any ‘slave question’ in the early church, noting, ‘they never dreamt of working for the abolition of the State, nor did it ever occur to them to abolish slavery for humane or other reasons’. Finally, he explains that the only possible meaning of 1 Cor. 7:21cd is that Paul ‘counsels slaves not even to avail themselves of the chance of freedom’.⁶⁵⁷

Robertson and Plummer, in their commentary of 1911, stressed the ‘take freedom’ view, arguing that this was the force of the tense of χρῆσαι: aorist (imperative) which suggests taking a new opportunity. Another reason can also be drawn from the context that since Paul thought that marriage could be a hindrance to devoting oneself to the ‘thing of the Lord’ (vv. 32-5), Robertson and Plummer convincingly stressed that slavery was a far greater hindrance. Thus, they translate the text as ‘but still, if thou canst also become free, rather make use of it than not’,⁶⁵⁸ and explain that v. 21cd

⁶⁵⁴ Adolf von Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (tr. and ed. James Moffatt; vol. 1; London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), esp. pp. 207-10.

⁶⁵⁵ Ignatius, *Ad Polycarpum*, 4.3.

⁶⁵⁶ Some slaves even became clergymen; e.g. it is said that Pius, the Roman presbyter or bishop (ca. 140-154 CE.), the brother of Hermas, and Callistus, the Roman bishop (ca. 217-222 CE.), used to be slaves. Harnack, *Expansion*, p. 209, n. 1.

⁶⁵⁷ Harnack, *Expansion*, p. 207, n. 3.

⁶⁵⁸ Robertson and Plummer, *First Epistle*, p. 147.

is a ‘parenthetic mitigation’ just as Paul does in v. 11 (as had been argued by e.g. Godet and Lightfoot). This would be to understand v. 21cd as an exception to the general rule of remaining in one’s current condition. In addition, they further elucidate something of the character of Paul with regard to the comment that Paul writes to those who are unable to become free (v. 21ab), seeing it as ‘the Apostle’s tenderness of heart’; although stipulating, on the other hand, that it is his ‘robustness of judgment’ to counsel those who have the opportunity to take freedom (v. 21cd). Thus, the nuance of the verse is to not be miserable because you are a slave; yet, if you can just as easily be set free, take advantage of it rather than not’.⁶⁵⁹

C.H. Dodd, in his article published in 1924, shed light on a piece of evidence from Oxyrhynchus.⁶⁶⁰ Introducing a papyrus text that includes what he considers is a philological parallel with 1 Cor. 7:21, he argues that the sentence in the fragment suggests the ‘take freedom’ reading. His point is that since the deponent verb *γράφωμαι* in the papyrus text (*ἐχρησάμην*⁶⁶¹) is used in the sense of ‘to use the opportunity’, the object of *χρηῆσαι* in 1 Cor. 7:21 is also to be supplied with the sense of ‘opportunity’; this is argued on the grounds that they both have similar phrases in their immediate context that assume the meaning of ‘opportunity’ (namely the verb *ἔξεστιν*⁶⁶² in the papyrus text and the verb *δύναμαι* in 1 Cor. 7:21c). Margaret Thrall, who later explored the question of 1 Cor. 7:21, disagrees with the argument made by Dodd since the only possible object that can be considered for the verb *γράφωμαι* is the ‘opportunity to write to the addressee’ in the context. However, this is different from the case of 1 Cor. 7:21 where at least two possible objects can be supplied.⁶⁶³ Indeed, in his article, Dodd seems to stress the importance of methodology rather than the specific evidence from Oxyrhynchus; he admits that the papyrus text, which can be dated back to the sixth or seventh century CE, is rather old for comparison. However, his contribution is considered to be the

⁶⁵⁹ Robertson and Plummer, *First Epistle*, p. 147.

⁶⁶⁰ C.H. Dodd, ‘Notes from Papyri’, *JTS* 26 (1924-25), pp. 77-8.

⁶⁶¹ First person, singular, aorist indicative of *γράφωμαι*

⁶⁶² *πολλάκις ἐξῆν γράψαι σοι*: I had many opportunities of writing to you: tr. by the editor of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XVI, 1865, 4 sqq. (lit. it was possible to write to you many times). Dodd, ‘Notes’, p. 77.

⁶⁶³ Thrall, *Greek Particles*, p. 78-9.

philological research that explored the ‘syntactical comparison’. This method was taken up seventy years later by Harrill who explored extant Greek ancient sources employing modern computer search tools.⁶⁶⁴

In the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. Gerhard Kittel), both the ‘remain in slavery’ and the ‘take freedom’ interpretations can be found. In the same volume published in 1935 (vol.2), Karl Heinrich Rengstorff who is the contributor of the entry of ‘δοῦλος’ refers to 1 Cor. 7:21 and comments on the verse that when a slave had the opportunity to be freed, the slave was to take that chance.⁶⁶⁵ On the other hand, Heinrich Schlier argues the opposing view in the entry of ‘ἐλεύθερος’.⁶⁶⁶ Schlier acknowledges the grammatical reasons that favour the ‘take freedom’ interpretation, such as if the καί modifies the δύνασθαι (instead of its combination with the previous εἰ), the apodosis should preferably be ‘take freedom’; however, he explains that the ‘take freedom’ interpretation overlooks the two important aspects of the ‘radical’ nature of those who were ‘summoned’; he first stresses that slaves do not need to be concerned about their status since both a slave and a freedperson would have equal standing before God; moreover, another theological reason is that striving for freedom may be a distraction from selfless readiness for others, the readiness that was brought to the believers by being freed by God through the sacrifice of Christ. Therefore, slaves would be able to let go of their social desires because of the nature of this ‘calling’. Overall, he is of the opinion that it would contradict with the general tenor of the passage that stresses the importance of their continuance of the condition in which they were called. It may be said that these two views were the representatives of the two trends prevalent in this era.⁶⁶⁷

During the latter half of the twentieth century, Hans Conzelmann, published his commentary in 1969. As in other commentaries, he first lists major interpretive difficulties; for example, the tense

⁶⁶⁴ Harrill uses *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* on CD-ROM. For the study by Harrill, see details below; cf. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 85.

⁶⁶⁵ Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, ‘δοῦλος’ in *Theological dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. Gerhard Kittel; tr. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; vol. 2, Δ-H; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980 [1964]), p. 272.

⁶⁶⁶ Heinrich Schlier, ‘ἐλεύθερος’ in *TDNT* 2, p. 501, and n. 20.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 94; Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 101.

of χρεῖσται (aorist) does not support the ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation;⁶⁶⁸ and if the καί is understood not in combination with the preceding εἰ but as a modifier of the following δύνασται,⁶⁶⁹ it strengthens the ‘take freedom’ interpretation. However, Conzelmann opts for ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation. His comment on v.21 is based on the theological and social aspect of slavery; for instance, he states, ‘civil freedom is seen to be merely a civil affair. In the church, it is of no value’.⁶⁷⁰ He explains that this distinction is different from the idea of indifference in Stoicism, but rooted in the eschatology of Paul.⁶⁷¹ Conzelmann also states that ‘he (a slave) loses nothing by not having his civil freedom’.⁶⁷² His fundamental views of slavery in the first century CE seem to be dependent on the research of the Mainz Academy of the time, since he refers to the scholars such as Joseph Vogt in the discussion of the social condition of slavery.⁶⁷³ However, as will be discussed below, the idea of the lenient condition of slavery, which was the view of the Mainz Academy during 1960’s, has been critiqued by later scholarship.⁶⁷⁴

During the same period, Ernst Käsemann gave an account from the view of Paul’s theology. In his interpretation of Rom. 13, Käsemann refers to 1 Cor. 7:21,⁶⁷⁵ and comments on the verse, implying a ‘remain in slavery’ view; but his explanation does seem to show his reservations about the crux (he states that Paul *can* recommend not to take freedom and adds that this is the *prima facie* understanding of the verse).⁶⁷⁶ Although he does not offer a thorough analysis of 1 Cor 7:21, his

⁶⁶⁸ Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Tr. James W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 127 n. 24.

⁶⁶⁹ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 127 n. 22.

⁶⁷⁰ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 127.

⁶⁷¹ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 126 n. 14, p. 127.

⁶⁷² Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 127 n. 24.

⁶⁷³ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 127 n. 21; Joseph Vogt, *Sklaverei und Humanität im klassischen Griechenland* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literature, 1953), pp. 159-183.

⁶⁷⁴ For details, see 5.1.2, under the subheading ‘The recent study of first-century slavery in the scholarships of Greco-Roman history and New Testament studies’.

⁶⁷⁵ Ernst Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today: Study edition* (Tr. W. J. Montague from selections from *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, 2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1965; London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 208-9.

⁶⁷⁶ Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, p. 208.

position is clear from his theological explanation that follows. According to Käsemann, the theological principles of Paul show the patriarchal view of the synagogue of the Diaspora,⁶⁷⁷ which includes social ordinances that are considered to be God-ordained. However, Paul does not reproduce this tradition since he possesses an ‘eschatological enthusiasm’ that keeps him aloof from the realities of various social conditions.⁶⁷⁸ After summarizing the thoughts of Paul as above, Käsemann states that when Paul writes about subordination (ὑποταγή), he is not simply adhering to the conventions but also ‘harking back to the will of the Creator’; and he argues that subordination to the authorities of this world is a ‘service to God’.⁶⁷⁹ From the above, it is not difficult to imagine that both the theological account of Käsemann and the commentary of Conzelmann have influenced the scholarly views of the time.

New Testament scholarship after 1970

The influential work of S. Scott Bartchy, in which he proposed his original interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21, was published in 1973.⁶⁸⁰ His concern was that New Testament scholars did not seem to take seriously the social context of the slaves in Corinth as a ‘prerequisite for a correct exegesis’.⁶⁸¹ Therefore, he approached the issue from an exploration of the social and legal context of slavery and manumission in the first-century Greco-Roman world,⁶⁸² which consequently led him to conclude that the elliptical phrase in 1 Cor. 7.21 conforms to neither of the two conventional interpretations.

Although his study has been critiqued by scholars such as Barrett,⁶⁸³ especially on the point

⁶⁷⁷ Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, p. 209.

⁶⁷⁸ Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, p. 209.

⁶⁷⁹ Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, p. 209.

⁶⁸⁰ S.S. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21* (SBLDS 11; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973).

⁶⁸¹ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 24.

⁶⁸² Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 30.

⁶⁸³ C.K. Barrett, ‘Review of S. Scott Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21* (SBLDS 11; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973)’, *JTS* 26 (1975), pp. 173-74. Harrill may have made his point in stating that Bartchy had in mind the goal to ‘explain why Paul was not an enlightened abolitionist’ by collecting evidence in order to show that the actual situation of the slavery in the first century was even humane. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 102.

that Bartchy considers the situation of the slave in the first century CE as a tolerable condition, as Bartchy states it ‘was often much better than modern men are inclined to think’;⁶⁸⁴ his work is still referenced by recent scholars as ‘the first comprehensive examination of Greco-Roman slavery in relation to the NT’.⁶⁸⁵ In addition to his study of a social reconstruction, his argument regarding the exegesis of 1 Cor. 7:21 gained much attention, to the extent that many commentaries refer to it as a third possible interpretation.⁶⁸⁶ Instead of supplying ‘slavery’ or ‘freedom’ as the missing term of the ellipsis, Bartchy proposes ‘calling (κλησις)’ as the object of the verb χρῆσαι. This interpretation is based on the understanding that 1) the slaves in the first century CE never had the choice to decide their own manumission; therefore, neither of the ‘remain in slavery’ or ‘take freedom’ interpretations are correct;⁶⁸⁷ 2) the meaning of χρῆσαι is ‘to live according to’, primarily relying on the use of Josephus with this word (see 5.2.4 for further discussion). He stresses that the ‘theology of calling’ of Paul is strongly emphasized in the passage, especially in vv. 17, 20 and 24.⁶⁸⁸ Therefore, he translates 1 Cor. 7:21 as ‘but if, indeed, you become manumitted, by all means [as a freedman] live according to [God’s calling]’.⁶⁸⁹ While this understanding has gained much attention from scholars, Barrett correctly points out that Bartchy omits the word δύνασθαι (you are able) in his translation,⁶⁹⁰ which is a crucial word that must not be dismissed since it possesses the question of the opportunity for gaining freedom.

Another critique is that to supply ‘calling’ is to consider that Paul is simply stating to live according to the calling of God, regardless of one’s social standing. Indeed, at a glance, this

⁶⁸⁴ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 46. Bartchy sketches that the slaves in the first century CE generally received humane treatment; e.g. p. 117.

⁶⁸⁵ Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 25.

⁶⁸⁶ For commentaries: e.g. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 554; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* (*Anchor Bible Commentary*; London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 309; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians*, (SP; vol. 7; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 286. For other publications: e.g. Gregory Dawes, “‘But if you can gain your freedom’ (1 Corinthians 7:17-24)’ *CBQ* 52 (1990), pp. 681-97, p. 693.

⁶⁸⁷ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 106, pp. 118-20.

⁶⁸⁸ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 134.

⁶⁸⁹ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 183.

⁶⁹⁰ Barrett, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 174.

understanding seems to be in line with the context where Paul repeats the importance of ‘calling’ (which Bartchy calls ‘Paul’s theology of calling’⁶⁹¹); however, as Harrill notes, this would mean that Paul is not offering any suggestions concerning the change of social status by manumission.⁶⁹² This creates inconsistencies with other teachings concerning marriage/divorce (v. 1-16 and v. 25-40) and circumcision/uncircumcision (v.18) in the same chapter where, in a practical way, he discusses his principles and exceptions.

Peter Trummer, in his article in 1975, discusses the question from a linguistic approach.⁶⁹³ Referring to the work of Bartchy published two years before his article, he critiques the view of Bartchy on ‘God’s calling’ in relation to the crucial issues.⁶⁹⁴ For Trummer, the aspect of ‘God’s calling’ also involves a strong anti-slavery view. In his grammatical explanation, for example, he is of the opinion that the μᾶλλον is to be considered as an elative comparative, which would stress the verb χρῆσαι.⁶⁹⁵ On the basis of this understanding that Paul further stressed the imperative tone in order to counsel to gain manumission, Trummer argues that the command is not a matter of a social issue, but a ‘realization of the *divine call*’.⁶⁹⁶ According to Trummer, this counsel was to create a ‘quiet revolution of mind (*eine stille Revolution der Gesinnung*)’ of the people, which would consequently have an impact not only on particular relationships between masters and slaves but also on civic society at large.⁶⁹⁷ Although his structural and grammatical explanations offer fundamental understandings of the interpretive problems, his view on how early Christianity considered the issue of manumission and its impact on wider society may require further discussion.

Gordon Fee in 1987 acknowledges in his commentary the point made by Bartchy that the

⁶⁹¹ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 132-155.

⁶⁹² Cf. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 101.

⁶⁹³ Peter Trummer, ‘Die Chance der Freiheit: Zur Interpretation des μᾶλλον χρῆσαι in 1 Kor 7, 21’, *Bib 56* (1975), pp. 344-368.

⁶⁹⁴ Although Trummer engages with the work of Bartchy in his *anhang*; the section is a core part of his article. Trummer, ‘Die Chance’, pp. 367-8.

⁶⁹⁵ The translation would be: e.g. ‘by all means, use [it]’.

⁶⁹⁶ Trummer, ‘Die Chance’, p. 368.

⁶⁹⁷ Trummer, ‘Die Chance’, p. 364.

decision to confer manumission was solely made by the master, and slaves had no choice. Thus, when Paul wrote ‘εἰ καὶ δύνῃσαι (if indeed you are able/ even if you are able)’, it is unlikely that he was assuming that slaves had a choice to either accept or reject manumission. This would suggest that it is incorrect to understand v. 21cd as ‘even if you are able to become free, make use of slavery’, since slaves were not at all able to decline the opportunity for manumission. Therefore, Fee supports the ‘take freedom’ interpretation and explains that Paul intended to write from the perspective of slaves;⁶⁹⁸ the nuance of the clause, ‘if you are able’, is understood within the context of the relationship between master and slave. Thus, his proposed reading is: when they are given the opportunity to be manumitted by their master, they must make use of it. The same view was also proposed by Baumert in Germany during the same period, but possibly independently. Baumert, accepting the basic reconstruction of slavery by Bartchy, pointed out that Bartchy disregards the function of δύνῃσαι in v. 21 (as Barrett also pointed out), and concluded that what Paul is stating is that the slave must accept manumission *if such an offer is made* by the master.⁶⁹⁹ Thus, Fee and Baumert are of the opinion that δύνῃσαι signifies the opportunity of emancipation given by the master.

Conversely, Anthony C. Thiselton, in his commentary in 2000, argues that the opinions of both Bartchy and Fee misconstrue what Paul means.⁷⁰⁰ Thiselton considers that Paul distinguishes between the actual circumstance and the attitude towards that circumstance and suggests that Paul is writing about the importance of the ‘stance toward’ being a slave, which is a matter of *attitude*. By focusing on attitude, Thiselton seems to be highlighting one’s internal state, since he stresses the significance of pleasing God even in the condition of slavery.⁷⁰¹ In addition, it is thus understandable

⁶⁹⁸ Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 317, n. 50, p. 318. Note that Bartchy is of the same opinion: ‘he (Paul) spoke of manumission solely from the point of view of the person in slavery.’ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 176.

⁶⁹⁹ Norbert Baumert, *Ehelosigkeit und Ehe im Herrn: Eine Neuinterpretation von 1 Kor 7* (FB, 47; 2nd ed.; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986 [First published in 1984]), pp. 114-51 (120, 132, n. 266; 141, n. 278). Cf. Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 107; Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 104-5.

⁷⁰⁰ Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 557. Thiselton refers to Hans- Josef Klauck, *1. Korintherbrief* (Die neue Echter Bible. Neues Testament 7; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1984), p. 54; J.A. Fischer, ‘1 Cor. 7:8–24: Marriage and Divorce’, *BR* 23 (1978), pp. 26-36.

⁷⁰¹ Thiselton, *First Epistle*, pp. 558.

that Thiselton sees this passage as ‘an accidental overlap’ with the philosophy of the time,⁷⁰² namely that of Stoicism that teaches about the bondage of circumstances and inner freedom (the argument which had been pointed out by earlier scholars such as James Moffatt⁷⁰³). According to Thiselton, the important point is that there was a common thought among the ancient thinkers who differentiated between circumstances and attitudes, and he contends that it is with the *attitude* that Paul is primarily concerned. His emphasis on the interpretation of this verse is that people can use even the circumstance of slavery for pleasing God as their true master.⁷⁰⁴

As already noted above, Harrill also challenges the work of Bartchy and explores the crux of 1 Cor. 7:21. In his work published in 1995, he disagrees with the view that considers first-century slavery as a lenient state as Bartchy demonstrated.⁷⁰⁵ He is also against the opinion that slaves were never able to refuse their manumission.⁷⁰⁶ However, the main argument made by Harrill is that supplying ‘calling’ as the elliptical object is unpersuasive, and he explores the problem from a philological approach arguing that he continues the task where Dodd had ‘left it’ in 1924,⁷⁰⁷ but now able to employ modern search tools such as *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.⁷⁰⁸ Based on his philological analysis that explored examples of the use of μάλλον and χάομαι in ancient literature, he argues that Paul is explaining two courses of actions: if the slave is unable to become free, then Paul states, ‘not to worry about it’; but if one is able to become free, then Paul orders them ‘to be concerned’ and gain manumission. Thus, he considers that the adverb μάλλον is not adversative to v. 21c, ‘if you can indeed become free’, but to v. 21b, ‘do not worry about it’.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰² Thiselton, *First Epistle*, pp. 557-8.

⁷⁰³ J. Moffatt, *The first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (MNTC; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), pp. 87-8. For example, he refers to a Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, and states that Paul does not share the thoughts of Epictetus (p. 87).

⁷⁰⁴ Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 558 (esp. his words are in Italics).

⁷⁰⁵ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 94-9.

⁷⁰⁶ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 100.

⁷⁰⁷ For the work of Dodd published in 1924, see above.

⁷⁰⁸ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 108-21. Harrill uses *TLG* on CD-ROM for the search of ancient sources.

⁷⁰⁹ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 118.

It has been shown above that after the work of Bartchy was published in 1973, scholarly debate focused on the question of whether slaves had a choice whether to accept or decline their manumission, since it would help explain the social context of δύνασαι (you are able). On the other hand, other significant studies published during the last decade of the twentieth century do not necessarily engage with the study of Bartchy but offer fresh views from different perspectives, such as rhetorical analysis or comparative analysis with other ancient sources, which has opened new discussions on social reconstruction as well as philological arguments. The studies of four scholars will be outlined below.

Gregory Dawes, in his article published in 1990, approached the critical issues by focusing on the rhetorical technique of Paul.⁷¹⁰ According to his investigation based on the study of the handbook of Quintilian (IV 3.14), Dawes argues that it is possible to observe a kind of *digressio*⁷¹¹ in the passage. It functions to explain further the theme that has been discussed (*ad utilitatem causae pertinens*)⁷¹² in 1 Cor. 7. Dawes explains that the distinctive use of this rhetoric in the epistles of Paul is reflected by the fact he often uses a binary pair of illustrations to demonstrate his points (e.g. 1 Cor. 3:5-9 and 3:10-15). Thus, Dawes argues that the double imagery of circumcision and manumission is intended to illustrate his main discussions regarding marriage and celibacy. Paul first uses the illustration of circumcision in order to explain that each should stay in the condition in which the person was called, i.e. either in marriage or in celibacy; second, he brings in another example of manumission to illustrate the view of ‘take freedom’, that is to take the advantage of celibacy.⁷¹³ Thus, according to Dawes, it is important to understand how each illustration relates to another in Paul’s rhetoric, and this is the key to unlock the meaning of the passage.

Regarding the understanding of the interpretative problems of 1 Cor. 7:21, such as those of εἰ καί, μᾶλλον, and γάρ, Dawes largely follows the understanding of Fee, and supports the ‘take

⁷¹⁰ Dawes, ‘But if you can gain your freedom’, pp. 681-97.

⁷¹¹ In Greek rhetorical technique, παρέκβασις.

⁷¹² For the definition of *ad utilitatem causae*, Dawes refers to J.C.G. Ernesti, *Lexicon technologiae Graecorum rhetoricae* (Leipzig, 1795; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1983).

⁷¹³ Dawes, ‘But if you can gain your freedom’, p. 696-7.

freedom' interpretation; however, in his understanding of δύναμι (be able to), he comments that it 'implies at least that Paul *thought* that the slave could choose to remain in slavery or to become free' (italics his).⁷¹⁴ In other words, it is likely that he was less concerned about whether slaves were in fact able to refuse manumission or not.⁷¹⁵

Allan Callahan, in his article published in 1989-90,⁷¹⁶ reestablished the situation behind the text from the perspective of ecclesial manumission. In his lexical explanation, he understands the meaning of χρῆσαι in v. 21d as similar to that of περιπατέω, which Paul uses in v. 17, and argues that it can be translated as to walk, act, or conduct oneself.⁷¹⁷ Thus, his translation is nuanced as 'if you can be free, act like it!'⁷¹⁸ He also stresses that the notion of 'a freedperson belonging to the Lord (ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου)' in v. 22 is not an abstract concept, but rather, by addressing an actual, statutory freedperson, Paul evokes their belonging to Christ.⁷¹⁹ In the second part of his study, Callahan discusses the question of ecclesial funds used for manumission. Based on the literary evidence found in *1 Clement* 55.2, and Ignatius, *Ad Polycarpum* 4.3 (the former text testifies to the fact that people sold themselves in order to obtain money to ransom other believers,⁷²⁰ and the latter text describes the purchase of believers using the money from the communal fund⁷²¹), he reconstructs the situation in Corinth, arguing that Christ-followers in Corinth sold themselves into slavery in order to accumulate funds for manumission of others. Thus, Callahan, assuming this social context,

⁷¹⁴ Dawes, 'But if you can gain your freedom', p. 693.

⁷¹⁵ This is despite the fact that some readers may understand from the title of his article 'But if you can gain your freedom'.

⁷¹⁶ Allan D. Callahan, 'A Note on 1 Corinthians 7:21', *The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 17 (1989-90), pp. 110-14.

⁷¹⁷ Callahan states that it is 'roughly synonymous'; however, he offers no lexical account other than the reference to the use of the verb in v. 17. Callahan, 'A Note', pp. 111-2.

⁷¹⁸ Callahan, 'A Note', p. 114.

⁷¹⁹ Callahan, 'A Note', p. 112.

⁷²⁰ 'We know that many among ourselves have delivered themselves to bondage, that they might ransom others. Many have sold themselves to slavery, and receiving the price paid for themselves have fed others.' (Tr. J.B. Lightfoot; *1 Clement*, 55.2).

⁷²¹ 'Let them not wish to be set free [from slavery] at the public expense (ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ), that they be not found slaves to their own desires.' (Tr. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; Ignatius, *Ad Polycarpum*, 4.3).

understands v. 23 as ‘you were bought with a price, weren’t you? Do not become slaves to human beings’.⁷²² However, this has been critiqued by J.A. Harrill in that the approach of projecting the document of Ignatius on to the social situation of 1 Corinthians is problematic, and it is also doubtful to assume that there was a practice of a common fund during the time that Paul wrote the letter to the Corinthians.⁷²³

Callahan further developed his argument. In his study in 2000, on the basis of his argument about ecclesial manumission, and by taking up the theological theme of exodus, he stressed that the work in Corinth for Paul was an ‘emancipatory project’ in order to purchase back the people from Roman owners.⁷²⁴ According to Callahan, this project on the community level was a challenge to Roman hegemony.⁷²⁵ In response to the work of Callahan, C.J. Roetzel poses two fundamental questions.⁷²⁶ First, he questions the eschatological view of Paul: in 1 Cor. 7:31, Paul contends that ‘the present form of this world is passing away’⁷²⁷ and therefore, the believers must remain in the present condition. He then asks, how would one explain the ‘take freedom’ view in relation to this teaching of Paul? Second, if emancipation was so important from the ecclesial point of view, as Callahan claims, ‘why was Paul not more explicit about it’ in his letter? These fundamental questions are possibly posed in relation not only to the study of Callahan but also the studies that support the interpretation of ‘take freedom’, which deserves further explanation.⁷²⁸

The study by Stephen R. Llewelyn published in 1992 introduced a new piece of evidence

⁷²² Callahan, ‘A Note’, p. 113.

⁷²³ Harrill explains that this clear from 1 Cor. 16: 1-4; the nascent nature of the Christ-followers in Corinth is evident considering that it was necessary for Paul to teach the practical directions for accumulating collections for the Corinthians. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 107.

⁷²⁴ Allen Dwight Callahan, ‘Paul, Ekklesia, and Emancipation in Corinth: A Coda on Liberation Theology’ in R.A. Horsley, *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation* (ed. R.A. Horsley; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), p. 216.

⁷²⁵ Callahan, ‘Emancipation in Corinth’, p. 223.

⁷²⁶ Calvin J. Roetzel, ‘Response: how anti-imperial was the collection and how emancipatory was Paul’s project?’ in R.A. Horsley, *Paul and Politics*, p. 229.

⁷²⁷ Also cf. 1 Cor. 7:26.

⁷²⁸ The question of ‘take freedom’ and understanding its relation to eschatology will be dealt in chapter 7.

regarding the relationship between slaves and masters, especially in terms of how slaves gained manumission. His study brought to light a piece of evidence regarding a slave who was thought to have initiated her own manumission. Since much attention was focused on whether slaves had any kind of options to initiate their manumission, the evidence from the Oxyrhynchus papyri is an important primary source in this sense.⁷²⁹ He explains that the evidence of the receipt of manumission tax reveals the initiative of a slave who gained emancipation; however, Llewelyn does not comment in detail on how and to what extent the evidence can be taken into account for the interpretation of the text in question.

Next, Llewelyn offers a helpful philological examination of 1 Cor. 7:21. He first focuses on the question of the conditional clauses in v. 21 c and d, and by exploring all the conditional sentences in the New Testament that contain ellipsis, he concludes that in all the twenty-one occurrences, ‘the ellipsis in the apodosis is inferred from the immediately preceding clause, i.e. its protasis’.⁷³⁰ This point has generally been argued by scholars,⁷³¹ but Llewelyn explains it with philological evidence

⁷²⁹ S.R. Llewelyn, “‘If you can gain your freedom’: manumission and 1Cor. 7.21’ in *New documents illustrating early Christianity: Review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri published in 1980-1981* (Vol. 6; ed. S.R. Llewelyn; collaboration of R.A. Kearsley; North Ryde, New South Wales: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre [Macquarie University], 1992), pp. 63-70. The content of the document is considered to be a receipt of manumission tax: a female house-born slave named Sinthoōnis was emancipated in the fourth year of the reign of Trajan (101 CE) in Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. Her owner who received manumission fee (also called Sinthoōnis) was a priestess of Thoëris, Isis, Sarapis and other associated gods. The payment was made indirectly since a freedman from the same city named Ammonios represented her and paid the money of 10 drachmae levy to the authority, the 10% manumission tax, and the ransom of 1000 drachmae (It is surmised that he is paying the ransom for marriage (p. 66). It is thought that Sinthoōnis possibly had a special skill that enabled her to accumulate her saving, and to ‘initiate her own manumission’, as Llewelyn explains (p. 67). The manumission was undertaken by the name of at least seven ἀγορανόμοι (Ἀγορανόμος: the official position of the Greek society who kept the order of *agora*, originally, a market overseer) and the receipt was signed by one of them, named Theon. Unlike Roman manumission that required a presence of an *assertor*, γνωστήρ (surety, guarantor) of the manumission was called. In addition, there is no mention of *paramonē* agreement (nor *operae*). In terms of the social background, it seems that apart from the description of the date, i.e. the fourth year of the reign of Trajan, other elements such as the use of Greek currency (drachma was permitted by the Romans because of expediency), and the manumission executed by ἀγορανόμοι suggest that the administration of the city was kept in a Greek style during the beginning of the second century. Moreover, the fact that the slave of a priestess of Egyptian deities was able to accumulate a considerable amount of money for manumission indicates that the social function of the Egyptian cult was maintained in Oxyrhynchus, which is most likely to be probable since Romans dealt with Egyptian cults differently from the way they did with the Greek cults. Thus, the social background is less likely to be compared to that in Roman Corinth. (See also the discussions in 3.2.2 under the entry of ‘The ruler-cult’. In Egypt, the Pharaoh was generally thought to be an incarnate of the deities; thus, it was crucial for the foreign rulers to take over this tradition in order to rule the people of the land.)

⁷³⁰ Llewelyn, ‘If you can gain your freedom’, p. 68; Llewelyn states that one exception would be 1 Tim. 3.15; however, he explains that, because of its complicated structure, it cannot be regarded as an elliptical sentence (p. 68, n. 82).

⁷³¹ E.g. Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 317.

and stresses that the reference to the ellipsis in v. 21d cannot be distant from the clause. He explains that it is more important to weigh the immediate context of the sentence (v. 21) than that of the larger discussion of Paul in 1 Cor. 7 that teaches to remain in the condition in which the believers were called. Thus, he supports the view of supplying ‘freedom’ for the elliptical object (i.e. *μᾶλλον* *χρῶσαι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ*), and adds that if Paul had intended to mean ‘remain in slavery (*τῇ δουλείᾳ*)’ or ‘live according to God’s calling (*τῇ κλήσει*)’, he would have needed to indicate it clearly.⁷³²

Llewelyn further examines this view from linguistic arguments, especially that with regard to *εἰ καί* and *μᾶλλον*. By adducing primary examples, he explains that when *εἰ καί* is understood in a contrastive sense, i.e. ‘even if’ or ‘even though’, it is done so because there is a clear contrast between the protasis and apodosis (e.g. 2 Cor. 4:16: inner and outer person, Phil. 2:17: sacrifice and rejoicing, 1 Pet. 3:14: suffering and blessing).⁷³³ However, his logic is that because the ellipsis in the apodosis in v. 21d needs to be ‘freedom (*τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ*)’, as he had argued, there is no semantic contrast between the protasis and the apodosis; thus, *εἰ καί* cannot be understood in a contrastive sense. With regard to *μᾶλλον*, he explores the occurrence of *εἰ* with *μᾶλλον* and points out that 1 Cor. 9:12⁷³⁴ and Phil 3:4⁷³⁵ are particularly relevant to the problem in question, since, in both sentences, there is an ellipsis, and *μᾶλλον* is to be translated as ‘more over’ and not the contrastive ‘rather.’ From these points, he supports the ‘take freedom’ interpretation and translates v. 21cd as: ‘But if ever you are able to become free, avail yourself of it all the more.’⁷³⁶

Will Deming, in his article published in 1995, approached the issue in terms of rhetorical

⁷³² Llewelyn, ‘If you can gain your freedom’, p. 69.

⁷³³ Llewelyn further adduces examples from Dio Cassius, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Josephus. Llewelyn, ‘If you can gain your freedom’, p. 69.

⁷³⁴ 1 Cor. 9:12: *εἰ ἄλλοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἐξουσίας μετέχουσιν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς;* (If others share this rightful claim on you, do not we still more? [NRSV])

⁷³⁵ Phil. 3:4: *εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί, ἐγὼ μᾶλλον* (If anyone else has reason to be confident in the flesh, I have more: [NRSV])

⁷³⁶ Llewelyn, ‘If you can gain your freedom’, p. 70. Note that he does not consider the *μᾶλλον* as an relative comparative.

analysis.⁷³⁷ His investigation is based on the so-called ‘diatribe style’ in 1 Cor. 7:17-24 which has already been acknowledged by commentators such as Johannes Weiss, Hans Conzelmann, and Rudolf Bultmann.⁷³⁸ From the rhetorical analysis of Hellenistic authors, such as Teles, Philo, Seneca and Epictetus,⁷³⁹ Deming further distinguishes a formula for ‘diatribe *pattern*’ in which one can find three distinctive elements: 1) a statement of a fact is directly questioned in second person singular in a rhetorical form, 2) this is followed by an imperative which denies the given statement to stress its indifference to the life of a person. 3) Finally, an account of why the issue is of little or no importance is provided. He considers that Paul uses this pattern at least five times in 1 Cor. 7, namely in 7:18, 19, 21, 22, and 27. In the case of v. 21-2, a question and an imperative can be found in v. 21ab⁷⁴⁰ (Were you a slave when called? Do not be concerned about it [NRSV]), and an explanation, in v. 22. He thus regards v. 21cd, which is between the imperative and the explanation, as an *addition* to the pattern.⁷⁴¹

According to his rhetorical analysis, the imperative in the diatribe pattern functions as a rebuff; in his words, ‘a rhetorical “slap in the face”’.⁷⁴² What is also important is that Paul further alters this pattern of imperative: in v. 21b, instead of writing ‘do not seek to become free’, Paul states, ‘Do not be concerned about it’.⁷⁴³ The reason behind this, according to Deming, is deliberately to soften the imperative. Concerning the question of v. 21cd, which contains the ellipsis in question, two options can be considered:⁷⁴⁴ a) to stress further on ‘the “slap” of the imperative’ (i.e. to stress on the teaching of status quo) or b) to ‘mute its shrillness’ (i.e. to state ‘take freedom’) in order to avoid the

⁷³⁷ W. Deming, ‘A Diatribe Pattern in 1 Cor. 7:21-22: A New Perspective on Paul’s Directions to Slaves’, *NovT* 37(1995), pp. 130-7.

⁷³⁸ Johannes Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (MeyerK 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1925), pp. 184-85; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 5, 126; and Rudolf Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (FRLANT 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), p. 69; cf. Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 130.

⁷³⁹ Teles, *frag.* 2.10.65-80; Philo, *Jos.*, 144; Sen., *Tranq.*, 4.3-4; Epict., *Ench.*, 15.

⁷⁴⁰ Note that Deming divides 1 Cor. 7:21 into two parts and refers to them as v.21a and b, which are equivalent to v.21ab and cd in this study, based on the four clauses in the verse.

⁷⁴¹ Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 135.

⁷⁴² Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 135

⁷⁴³ Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 137.

⁷⁴⁴ Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 136.

danger of misunderstanding caused by the diatribe pattern which Paul had already written. The conclusion Deming draws is that because Paul had already softened his argument by stating not to be concerned, Paul ‘wishes to *mitigate*, not increase, the rhetorical impact of the verse’.⁷⁴⁵ Thus, it is most unlikely that Paul would again heighten the imperative tone and emphasize a continuance of slavery. From this view, he concludes that ‘while Christian slaves should regard their disenfranchised state as a matter of indifference, they should not, as a consequence, forgo an opportunity to gain their freedom’.⁷⁴⁶

The recent study of first-century slavery in the scholarships of Greco-Roman history and New Testament studies

A special forum entitled ‘Roman Slavery and the New Testament: Engaging the Work of Keith Bradley’ was organized by the Consultation on Slavery, Resistance and Freedom of the Society of Biblical Literature at their annual meeting in Chicago in 2012. It may be important to summarize the forum since it offers an overview of the trend of scholarship after the study of Bartchy was published; the panel discussion concerned the views on the social condition of slavery in the scholarship of both Greco–Roman history and New Testament studies. The focus of the forum was for New Testament scholars to connect with the work of Bradley, a historian of ancient slavery, in two ways: to discuss the impact of Bradley’s study on New Testament scholarship, and to challenge his views from the perspective of the study of early Christianity. The panel presentations were given by Jennifer Glancy, Albert Harrill, Sheila Briggs, and Scott Bartchy, and were followed by a response from Bradley. Although the discussions were not specifically about the issues of the interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21, they offered fundamental views regarding the relationship between slaves and masters in the first century CE. In this sense, they deserve special mention, since the scholarly opinions on the crux of the passage largely depend on how the scholars viewed first–century slavery in terms of the relationship

⁷⁴⁵ Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 136. The italics are by Deming.

⁷⁴⁶ Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 137.

between masters and slaves. The discussions from each panel were published in 2013,⁷⁴⁷ and enable us to obtain a general idea of current scholarly opinions and those of the past fifty years, both the agreements and the differences, in the field of ancient slavery and of early Christianity.

Predominant view before Bradley

From a chronological point of view, the works published by historians, such as *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies* edited by Moses Finley and *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* by Susan Treggiari,⁷⁴⁸ had not been published when Bartchy started his research on Greco-Roman slavery. Bartchy states that scholars at Mainz Academy⁷⁴⁹ in the late 1960s, during the years when he started to pursue his research in Tübingen, mostly seemed to consider that Roman slavery was humane, at least in urban settings.⁷⁵⁰ While acknowledging that his study, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: First Century Slavery and the Interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21*, published in 1973, was heavily dependent on the view of the scholarship of Mainz Academy, Bartchy defends his position from the critique (made by Harrill) that the purpose of scholars who support a positive view on slavery is to ‘excuse’ early Christendom for not condemning slavery.⁷⁵¹

Change in the trend of New Testament scholarship

The works of Bradley brought about a change in the trend of scholarly views on Roman slavery away

⁷⁴⁷ Emerson B. Powery, ‘Special forum: Roman Slavery and the New Testament: Engaging the Work of Keith Bradley’, *BibInt* 21 (2013), pp. 495-6; Jennifer Glancy, ‘Resistance and Humanity in Roman Slavery’, *BibInt* 21 (2013), pp. 497-505; J. Albert Harrill, ‘Slavery and Inhumanity: Keith Bradley’s Legacy on Slavery in New Testament Studies’, *BibInt* 21 (2013), pp. 506-14; Sheila Briggs, ‘Engaging the Work of Keith Bradley’, *BibInt* 21 (2013), pp. 515-23; S. Scott Bartchy, ‘Response to Keith Bradley’s Scholarship on Slavery’, *BibInt* 21 (2013), pp. 524-32; Keith Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, *BibInt* 21 (2013), pp. 533-46.

⁷⁴⁸ Moses Finley (ed.), *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies* (2nd edn.; Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1968); Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). However, both publications are cited in the bibliography of his *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ: First Century Slavery and the Interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21*.

⁷⁴⁹ Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, established in 1949.

⁷⁵⁰ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 526.

⁷⁵¹ Bartchy comments that if he had done so ‘in order to excuse early Christians’, the classicist on his dissertation committee (i.e. Glen Bowersock) would not have signed off his dissertation. Bartchy, ‘Response’, p. 527.

from the conventional understanding that had, according to Harrill and Bartchy, primarily been established by the Mainz Academy on studies of slavery, which showed a humane view of slavery. Harrill, referring to the contribution that Bradley made in the field, contends that ‘such a critique was sorely needed in New Testament studies’.⁷⁵² In the 1970s and 80s, it was generally thought that, because the situation of slavery was considered to be benevolent, early Christendom, including Paul, did not condemn the system. The reason for this view was based on two understandings, namely ‘the relative lack of slave rebellions’⁷⁵³ and the definitions of slavery. It is clear that the ‘lack’ cannot be evidence for a humane situation since revolt on a large scale is not the only resistance that slaves could take against their harsh condition. The definition of slavery requires further explanation; according to Harrill, the conventional understanding of slavery came from the definition of ‘natural slaves’ by Aristotle (that is, by virtue of their biological nature, they were slaves). On the other hand, Roman law designated slaves not by nature, but by fate. For example, this was demonstrated in the article by Bradley, ‘*Animalizing the Slave: the Truth of Fiction*’. The ancient novel *The Golden Ass*, written by Apuleius, is very often regarded as fiction, and therefore it has been thought that it cannot be used as a source to establish Roman society; however, Bradley argues that it depicts a clear picture of ‘the agonizing crisis of identity’ of those who experienced enslavement in Roman society.⁷⁵⁴ Several points in the novel, such as when Lucius, the protagonist, is transformed into a donkey, is forced to labour as a domestic animal, and suffers violence from his owners while being resold many times, all highlight the aspect of an ‘animalized’ human being. In contrast to the idea of ‘natural slaves’, which had widely been accepted, this ‘unnatural’ situation was the reality which slaves suffered. Therefore, in Harrill’s explanation of Bradley’s view, Roman slavery was ‘more brutal than other forms in world history, precisely because the Romans lacked a biological or racial ideology of their institution’.⁷⁵⁵ Harrill further discusses the approach of using the works of literature as historical sources, to which Bradley responds by agreeing with Harrill overall in that there is a need to consider

⁷⁵² Harrill, ‘Slavery and Inhumanity’, p. 507.

⁷⁵³ Harrill, ‘Slavery and Inhumanity’, p.508.

⁷⁵⁴ Harrill, ‘Slavery and Inhumanity’, p. 511.

⁷⁵⁵ Harrill, ‘Slavery and Inhumanity’, p. 511.

how the generic conventions in antiquity controlled literary production.⁷⁵⁶

Resistance and volitional autonomy of slaves

The works of Bradley brought a new focus onto the relationship between master and slave, especially in his explanation of the aspect of resistance by slaves.⁷⁵⁷ While Jennifer Glancy, in her contribution to the panel discussion, acknowledges at length how New Testament scholars have learnt from the works of Bradley, especially in the ways in which Bradley treats primary sources, she also challenges the emphasis which Bradley places, and states, ‘I have reservations about Bradley’s assumption that slaves routinely made conscious, deliberate decisions about whether and how to resist the terms of their enslavement.’⁷⁵⁸ She explains the reason for this scepticism by referring to the study by Bradley of a Stoic philosopher, Epictetus.⁷⁵⁹ Just as a reader of Epictetus would observe his insistence on ‘volitional autonomy’, Glancy questions whether the emphasis on the deliberate ‘choice’ of enslaved persons, which one finds in the works of Bradley, may be a product of his engagement with the thoughts of a freedman philosopher, Epictetus.

In general, the problem of the study of ancient slavery is that most sources are one-sided in nature, since slaves did not leave any records. However, Bradley makes his point clear that comparable evidence at the same time demonstrates the personhood of slaves. By citing the primary sources of Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, Cato, Varro, Columella, Plutarch and Athenaeus,⁷⁶⁰ he states that slave-owners were constantly aware that it was necessary for them to eliminate the potential of autonomous behaviour by slaves, even if it was not in the best interest of owners. In other words, from the perspective of owners, slaves were not automatons, and the owners managed slaves who

⁷⁵⁶ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 537.

⁷⁵⁷ Bartchy, ‘Response’, p. 529-31.

⁷⁵⁸ Glancy, ‘Resistance and Humanity’, p. 505.

⁷⁵⁹ Glancy, ‘Resistance and Humanity’, p. 504; Glancy refers to K. Bradley, ‘Seneca and Slavery’, in *Seneca* (ed. John G. Fitch; Oxford Readings in Classical Studies; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 335-47; she quotes from K. Bradley, *Slavery and Society of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [first published 1994]), p. 178.

⁷⁶⁰ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 534, n. 2.

potentially had ‘individual ability to decide and to act’.⁷⁶¹ Further, Bradley discusses the question of management of slaves by referring to an example from Plutarch which reflects the reality of slavery in his time (*Mor.* 459, B-F: *On the control of anger*). In this passage from *Moralia*, Plutarch urges slave-owners not to punish slaves with branding irons, by explaining why beatings do not change the disobedient tendencies of slaves; the reason Plutarch gives is that beatings can only cause slaves to become cunning and do wrong without being caught by their owners. These comments are most likely to be drawn from his experience, which demonstrates the actual attitude of slaves. From the view of the owners, slaves became ‘far-sighted [and] cunning to do wrong without detection’;⁷⁶² on the other hand, it was ‘a method of self-survival’ for slaves, which, according to Bradley, could be regarded as their ‘strategy of resistance’.⁷⁶³ In this manner, Bradley discerns the personhood of slaves in the evidence of the management of slaves.⁷⁶⁴

Slavery and early Christianity

In contrast to the tendency of nineteenth-century historians such as Wallon and Allard to emphasize that the early church was against slavery,⁷⁶⁵ the pendulum of more recent opinion seems to have swung in the other direction. For example, one of the strongest opinions comes from G.E.M. de Ste Croix, who in 1981 wrote that early Christianity, in fact, made the conditions of slaves worse than in the pre-Christianity period.⁷⁶⁶ Bradley, explaining carefully that this view may be partisan, raises points that he considers to be undeniable. One of the aspects that may be relevant to the issue of manumission is that, although early churches seemed to have had a practice of using communal funds to pay the price of manumission (at least at some point; e.g., the period in which the letter of Ignatius

⁷⁶¹ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 535.

⁷⁶² *Mor.* 459, D [LCL translation]

⁷⁶³ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 535.

⁷⁶⁴ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 535.

⁷⁶⁵ M. Finley, referring to the study of scholars such as Wallon and Allard in the nineteenth century, commented that they created a ‘doctrine’ that early Christianity was opposed to slavery. Finley, *Modern Ideology*, p. 83.

⁷⁶⁶ G.E.M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 419-25. Cf. Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 540.

of Antioch to Polycarp was written), this does not necessarily demonstrate that Christianity was against slavery, for emancipating a slave usually meant that the owner was able to secure the labour they needed with a new slave.⁷⁶⁷ Thus, according to Bradley, the practice of manumission among the early churches possibly had little significance; it is also likely that this point can be deduced from the fact that there was no decline of slavery observed in late antiquity. Furthermore, in what Briggs describes as ‘Bradley’s harsh judgment’,⁷⁶⁸ Bradley also considers that Christianity worsened the conditions of slaves, rather than bringing change to the system of slavery; he states: ‘with the argument that obedience was to be given to them “as unto Christ”, Christian slave-owners gave themselves a stronger grip on their slaves than they had ever had before’.⁷⁶⁹ He comments that, with the teachings of Christianity, slave-owners dominated slaves psychologically, which made them more into ‘human property’.⁷⁷⁰

Briggs discusses the argument of Bradley from the viewpoint of the scale of accommodation or resistance; that is, it is assumed that slaves chose either obedience to their masters for peaceful survival, or resistance. Because the biblical texts Bradley uses as evidence are confined to Pauline and Deutero-Pauline texts,⁷⁷¹ Briggs points out that his selective use of the passages of the New Testament inevitably sketches a picture that shows early Christianity putting slaves universally on the side of accommodation.⁷⁷² However, Bradley, in response, pointing out her dichotomous view of resistance and accommodation, argues that resistance and accommodation are not mutually exclusive, since accommodation may itself be a form of resistance.⁷⁷³

As the above overview of the forum shows, the discussions of these five scholars offered fundamental views of the current scholarship on slavery during the first century CE. The relationships

⁷⁶⁷ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 540.

⁷⁶⁸ Briggs, ‘Engaging the Work’, p. 519.

⁷⁶⁹ Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 151; cf. Briggs, ‘Engaging the Work’, p. 518-9.

⁷⁷⁰ Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, p. 151.

⁷⁷¹ One exception is from 1 Pet. 2:18.

⁷⁷² Briggs, ‘Engaging the Work’, p. 520.

⁷⁷³ Bradley, ‘Engaging with Slavery’, p. 536-7.

between masters and slaves are of particular importance in relation to the question of the early church, as well as the crux of 1 Cor. 7:21. The forum showed how the views of New Testament scholars have depended on the opinions of Greco-Roman historians, while the discussions also highlighted the importance of the constant critique from the side of New Testament scholarship. As the forum held in 2013 shows, the picture of first-century slavery is more nuanced, with a shift of view, in that the condition of slavery was not as humane as it had been considered at the time when the work of Bartchy was published in 1973.

5.2 Social context of manumission in Roman Corinth and 1 Cor. 7:21

Having explored the interpretive problems of 1 Cor. 7:21 and the history of its interpretation, the study will now turn in this section to the issues that are primarily related to the social context of manumission in Corinth. As the preceding survey of past studies has shown, New Testament scholars have discussed whether slaves in the first century had any *chance* of being manumitted by exploring the social condition of slaves in Roman society, for example in the work of S. Scott Bartchy that has gained much attention from biblical scholars. However, many studies have tended to discuss the opportunities slaves had in society in rather a broad sense by using evidence from a relatively wide timeframe and geographical area. It is felt that there are specific areas that still need to be clarified, especially in relation to the social context of Corinth. In this section, the study focuses on four areas related to manumission in Corinth. The discussion will primarily take into account the investigations in the previous chapters, and aims to discuss how the social context of Corinth sheds light on the interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21.

The first focus will be the question of Greek manumission in Corinth. It has been assumed in many studies of 1 Cor. 7:21 that the practice of Greek manumission existed in Corinth during the mid-first century. By examining the grounds for this assumption, such as the length of paramonē-agreement, and by taking into account the evidence from Buthrotum when it was under Roman rule,⁷⁷⁴ the study will discuss whether it is plausible to presuppose the practice of Greek

⁷⁷⁴ See Chapter 4 for the details of the evidence from Buthrotum.

manumission when interpreting the text. The second area to be discussed is the legal aspect of manumission. As shown in Chapter 1, there were Roman laws regarding the manumission of slaves that were established especially during the Augustan era, and the restrictions introduced must have influenced the lives of slaves. It is thus important to discuss the social context created by the consequences of these laws, such as whether these laws brought about a spontaneous response among the people to become loyal citizens of Rome, especially under the social conditions of Roman Corinth. This section aims to explain the influence of these laws in the context of Corinth, which is expected to be an important premise for understanding 1 Cor. 7:21. The third area that will be examined is the mode of manumission, which may also be an important element for understanding the actual situation behind the text. Roman manumission was categorized into three formal and two informal modes, and the nature of each mode was different. Some modes were more common than others, perhaps according to the actual social conditions of the time. Their practices and administration in the social setting of Corinth will be discussed. The reconstruction of the actual process that the master and the slave went through in Corinth may shed light on the intention Paul may have had regarding the manumission of slaves. The fourth aspect to be explored is the question of $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ in relation to the Roman imperial context. The study will first discuss the proposal made by Bartchy which offered an understanding of the verb (i.e. ‘to live according to God’s calling’) which was an alternative to the two conventional interpretations (i.e. ‘remain in slavery’ and ‘take freedom’). One scholarly criticism of his study is that Bartchy did not engage with the evidence from Corinth despite his intention to define the condition of slavery in Corinth.⁷⁷⁵ The study will explain the importance of understanding Paul’s use of the verb $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ in relation to the context of Roman Corinth, and argues that the key to interpreting 1 Cor. 7:21 is the understanding of Paul’s view of the social situation of Roman imperial rule.

5.2.1 The question of Greek manumission in Corinth and 1 Cor. 7:21

Since Paul addressed the letter to those who lived in the social context of Roman Corinth in the

⁷⁷⁵ E.g. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 99; for the aim of his study, see: Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 37.

mid-first century CE, he must have had thoughts that were specific to that context. One of the points that need to be discussed first is whether the manumission which Paul mentioned was a Roman manumission that was defined by Roman law, or Greek manumission practised in the Greek tradition. This is important, since, although there seems to be no doubt that Roman manumission was practised in a Roman city governed by the Romans, it is not self-evident that Greek manumission was practised in Corinth.

It may be relevant first to ask whether there is any sign in Paul's letters that refers to Greek manumission. In 1 Cor. 7:22, Paul introduces his theological concept of the reversal of status, as mentioned above; he writes that a slave who was called in the Lord is a *freedman of the Lord*. It is likely that the reason why Paul wrote 'freedman' (ἀπελεύθερος) and not 'freeman' (ἐλεύθερος) is that Paul intended to stress the belonging and the service to the Lord.⁷⁷⁶ The question here is, to what extent is Paul assuming Greek manumission? It is often pointed out that after manumission ex-slaves were not entirely free but were obligated to serve their former master for a certain period, and this was true for both Roman and Greek manumission.⁷⁷⁷ However, Francis Lyall, whose work has been praised for its interdisciplinary approach using Roman, Greek and Jewish laws,⁷⁷⁸ considers that there is a difference in the length of such a period, and comments that 'freedman of the Lord' (7:22) would not make sense if Paul, in this text, had assumed *Greek* freedmen, since paramonē-agreements⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁶ E.g. Callahan also considers that this is because Paul had in mind a concrete situation regarding freedpersons. Allen D. Callahan, 'A note on 1 Corinthians 7:21', *The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 17 (1989-1990), pp. 110-114(112). It is not the intention of this study to explore the question of the metaphor of slavery, i.e. the meaning of 'a slave of Christ'. The questions as to whether the phrase originates from Jewish background or Greco-Roman background, whether it carried an honorific title (in contrast to Imperial slaves), or whether it had different meanings to different audiences (as Dale B. Martin argues), will not be discussed in this study. For the research history of this theme, see e.g. Byron, *Recent Research*, pp. 67-91. Cf. Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

⁷⁷⁷ See 1.1.3 for details.

⁷⁷⁸ Francis Lyall is professor of Public Law. His work is generally acclaimed, e.g. by R.F. Hock, who comments, 'New Testament scholars can only be grateful to Lyall for bringing his legal mind and expertise to bear on the specific and technical aspects of legal metaphors in the epistles.' Ronald F. Hock, 'Book Review: Slaves, Citizens, Sons: Legal Metaphors in the Epistles by Francis Lyall', *Int* 40 (1986), p. 215.

⁷⁷⁹ For paramonē-agreement, see. 1.1.3 (footnote).

ceased after a certain period of time.⁷⁸⁰ Some New Testament scholars also consider that such an agreement ended after a relatively short time.⁷⁸¹ However, the inscriptional evidence suggests to historians that the paramonē-agreement varied from a few months to the period until the death of the master, and the dates of those inscriptions which show that the agreement lasted until the death of their master extend from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE, and amongst regional variations from central Greece to the north of the Black Sea.⁷⁸² Although there seems to be no set formula in the inscriptions, most contain phrases such as μετὰ δὲ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν (after the life of ours, [you are free]) followed by the noun παραμονή or the verb παραμένω.⁷⁸³ This inscriptional evidence indicates that the obligation did not necessarily end after a short period and, taking this into account, it seems difficult to conclude decisively, as Lyall does, that Paul could not have been referring to Greek manumission on the grounds of the length of the paramonē-agreement. Overall, since 1 Cor. 7:21-22 is the only passage in which Paul mentions a freedperson, his letters cannot be used as a premise to discuss whether there was a practice of Greek manumission in Corinth.

According to Bartchy, the tradition of Greek manumission continued in Corinth during the

⁷⁸⁰ F. Lyall, *Slaves, Citizens, Sons: Legal Metaphors in the Epistles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), p. 42.

⁷⁸¹ For example, Bartchy generalizes that the period of paramonē-agreement was from two to ten years. His assumption is primarily based on the work of Westermann, who explains that the length was customarily reduced to two to ten years; however, his study is confined to the Delphic inscriptions. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 80; William Linn Westermann, 'Between Slavery and Freedom', *The American Historical Review* 50 (1945), pp. 213-227 (217). Bartchy also refers to Herbert Rädle, *Untersuchungen zum griechischen Freilassungswesen* (Diss.; Munich: Universität zu München, 1969), pp. 143.

Harrill, referring to the work of Gülzow, observes correctly that the agreement did not necessarily end after a short period. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 91; Henneke Gülzow, *Christentum und Sklaverei in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1969). The study of Gülzow is also acknowledged in the work of Byron. Byron, *Paul and Slavery*, p. 103.

⁷⁸² Agreement for six months, *IG XII Suppl.* 368, Thasus, 4th century BCE; for one year, *IG VII* 3391, Chaeronea, 2nd century BCE; for three years, *SGDI*, II, 1696, Delphi, ca. 150-140 BCE.

Agreement until the master's death, *IG VII* 1778, Thespieae, undated; *IG VII* 2228, Thisbe, undated; 3314, Chaeronea, 2nd century BCE; *IG IX*(1) 189, Tithora, beginning of 2nd century CE; *IG IX* (1) 190, Tithora, beginning of 2nd century CE; *CIRB* 74, Bosphorus Kingdom (Pantikapaion), 173-211 CE.

Cf. Zelnick-Abramovitz, p. 225-226; T. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 46-9 (esp. source nos. 23-26).

⁷⁸³ *CIRB* 74 (line 8-10); *IG IX* (1) 190 (line 8-9); *IG IX* (1) 189 (line 13-14); *IG VII* 3314 (line 3-4).

first century CE since emancipation generally took place in temples in many Greek cities.⁷⁸⁴ His assumption is primarily based on the inscriptional evidence from Delphi. From this, Bartchy further explains how priests of the Greek temples facilitated manumission as ‘middlemen’ performing legal contracts between slaves and masters.⁷⁸⁵ However, one must ask whether the context of Corinth was the same as that of Delphi or any of the other Greek cities. This question had already been raised a quarter of a century before the publication of Bartchy’s work by William Linn Westermann, who examined work by Adolf Deissmann in 1948.⁷⁸⁶ In Deissmann’s influential work *Light from the ancient East* published in 1908, he demonstrated a direct connection between the thoughts of Paul on the metaphor of emancipation of slaves and the custom of Greek manumission in Delphi.⁷⁸⁷ Westermann does not deny the argument made by Deissmann that Delphic manumission had influenced Paul’s thoughts, but he carefully warned that Deissmann applied the Delphic context to that of Paul ‘too narrowly’.⁷⁸⁸ In 1957, Franz Bömer further refuted the idea that Paul was influenced by the tradition of sacral manumission in Delphi on philological grounds.⁷⁸⁹ After careful investigation, the parallels of terminology, namely, between ‘bought with a price’ (τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε) (7:23) and the inscriptions in Delphi to which Deissmann referred, were shown to be fallacious. Indeed, Bartchy was aware of these studies and, in his excursus on Greek sacral manumission, he affirms the disconnect between the theological thoughts of Paul and the context of Delphi by relying especially on the arguments made by Bömer.⁷⁹⁰ However, Bartchy still assumes

⁷⁸⁴ Bartchy refers to Rädle, *Freilassungswesen*, p. 168. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 95-6 (see also Bartchy, p. 37 n. 90).

⁷⁸⁵ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 95.

⁷⁸⁶ W.L. Westermann, ‘The Freedmen and the Slaves of God’, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (1948), pp.55-64 (55). ‘Correctly, though perhaps too narrowly, Deissmann connected this metaphor with a method of manumission which had been followed for two centuries before Paul’s time at the temple of Apollo at Delphi.’ Cf. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (tr. Lionel R. M. Strachan; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927), pp. 318-330.

⁷⁸⁷ Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 318-330.

⁷⁸⁸ Westermann, ‘Freedmen and the Slaves of God’, p. 55. Also, cf. Byron, *Paul and Slavery*, p. 72.

⁷⁸⁹ F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*. (4 vols.; Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1958–1963).

⁷⁹⁰ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 121-5.

that there had been a practice of Greek manumission taking place in the temples in Corinth, *on the basis of* Delphic inscriptions. Towards the end of the twentieth century, the methodological problem of using the evidence from Delphic inscriptions has been raised more explicitly. Dale Martin summarizes the research history of the issue, by stating that later scholars realized that the context of the letter of Paul was linguistically and socially remote from that of Delphi; pointing out that the work of Deissmann was too dependent on the particular context; and concluding that, ‘in his attempt to be contextual, Deissmann chose the wrong context’.⁷⁹¹ Thus, although scholars after Deissmann appreciated his approach, the direct connection between Pauline texts and the Delphic inscription seems to be less likely.

These studies in the past have focused on the issue of the slavery metaphor written by Paul. Thus, it is the parallels between the Delphic inscriptions and his texts that have been the particular concern for scholars, rather than the social context of Corinth itself. However, at the same time, the scholarly arguments seem to have proved that the social condition of Corinth was considerably different from that of Delphi, and have consequently pointed out the importance of selecting an appropriate context when the issues of the society of Corinth are studied.

In this respect, the exploration of the previous chapters may shed light on the question of Greek sacral manumission in Corinth. It will also help to explain the relevance of the comparative evidence that needs to be applied to Corinth. The aspects that must be carefully examined are its historical and social elements, the most important of which is Roman imperial rule. Since Corinth was a Roman colony that had been refounded after the destruction of the city, it is important to take into account the relationship between Roman rule and the subject people in Roman Corinth. In the previous chapters, the ways in which Romans controlled the people by utilizing Greek cults has been explored, and the issue of Greek manumission has been discussed in the light of Roman policy. In Chapter 4, the evidence from the Roman colony of Buthrotum, which had a connection with Corinth,

⁷⁹¹ Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, p. xix.

has been investigated.⁷⁹² As noted above, from the extensive evidence of manumission cited on inscriptions that had continued for centuries appears to have ceased during the first century BCE, it has been argued that the Romans stopped Greek manumission when they colonized the city. Furthermore, the Romans utilized the cultic centre of Asclepius for the purpose of ruling the people. This method of control was not confined to the city of Buthrotum; the archaeological evidence suggests that there were Roman elites from Buthrotum who were involved in rebuilding the temple of Asclepius in Corinth, which shows the connection between the two Roman cities, especially in terms of the active redesigning of the Greek cultic centres. As these points indicate, one cannot dismiss the social context of Buthrotum when the situation of Corinth is considered. It is appropriate to conclude that the Romans banned Greek manumission in Corinth and used Greek cults and their temples as a means of social control.

5.2.2 The question of δύνασαι: Legal aspects of manumission

As shown in Chapter 1, there were Roman laws introduced that tightened the practice of manumission, and the eligibility of slaves for manumission was precisely defined by these laws. For slaves in the mid-first century CE, the issue of their eligibility for manumission must have been a genuine concern in everyday life. In this sense, it is understandable that Paul takes up this issue in his letter. This part of the study discusses the general legal aspects of these Roman laws regarding manumission and how they influenced slaves and their masters in Corinth, where the social atmosphere of the time was highly competitive in *cursus honorum*, as shown in Chapters 2 and 3. The question of the sense in which Paul used the word δύνασαι (you are able) will be discussed in the legal context of obtaining manumission on the part of slaves.

Before exploring the legal and social aspects of the issue, it is worth mentioning briefly the lexical aspect of the verb δύναμαι. As the origin of the word, δύναμις, suggests, the verb is used more often to mean ‘to be able’ in the sense of one’s ability or proficiency than in the sense of the

⁷⁹² Bronwen Wickkiser, who focuses on the study of the cult of Asclepius in Corinth and other Roman cities, explores the connection between the Asclepius in Buthrotum and that in Corinth. Wickkiser, ‘*Asclepios*’, 2010.

circumstantial opportunity; i.e., if someone is able to do something, the condition depends on the person rather than on the external circumstances (that *allow* the person to do something).⁷⁹³ In this sense, the translation of Lightfoot, ‘thy power to become a free man’, may be appropriate.⁷⁹⁴ Indeed, there is another use of this verb, to mean ‘it is possible to’ (impersonal), which would imply the external condition that permits the person to do something; however, in this case, the person of the verb must be the 3rd person singular (δύναται),⁷⁹⁵ and not the 2nd person singular (δύνασαι) as in 7:21c. Thus, it is difficult to consider that the verb is used in the impersonal sense. In addition, within the semantic realm of ‘to be able’, the verb can also mean to ‘enjoy a legal right’;⁷⁹⁶ thus, if this meaning is taken for the passage in question, it would be the legal right to become free. It may also be worth noting the use of the verb in Acts 26:32, where the author writes that Agrippa declares to Festus: ‘this man [Paul] could have been set free (ἀπολελύσθαι ἐδύνατο) if he had not appealed to the emperor’. The words of Agrippa could be understood in a legal sense since they imply a certain condition that enables Paul to be freed by the permission of someone in authority, whether by law or custom. Indeed, A.N. Sherwin-White discusses in detail the Roman law and the conventions that may lie behind this passage. He considers that Festus sent Paul to Rome, not because of the specific Roman law, such as the *Lex Iulia*, but because of the non-constitutional power called *auctoritas* (prestige) which maintained the supreme authority of the emperor.⁷⁹⁷ Bartchy also refers to this passage to explain Paul’s use of the verb δύναμαι; however, he does not discuss the legal sense which this verb may entail.⁷⁹⁸ Thus, it is probable that the clause ‘if you are able to gain freedom’ (1 Cor.

⁷⁹³ Liddell, Scott and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (A New Edition; Vol.1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 451-2.

⁷⁹⁴ Lightfoot translates v. 21 as: ‘but if it should be in thy power to become a free man, rather avail thyself of the opportunity’; Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles*, p. 229.

⁷⁹⁵ The third (III) meaning of δύναμαι in Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, pp. 451-2.

⁷⁹⁶ Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, pp. 451-2. They adduce the following example from Oxyrhynchus Papyri 899. 31 (i/iii CE): δύναμαι τῆς γεωργίας ἀπηλλάχθαι (‘enjoy the right to get rid of the farms’).

⁷⁹⁷ Adrian Nicolas Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament: The Sarum Lectures 1960-1961* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 63-5.

⁷⁹⁸ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 177, n. 577. In his footnote, Bartchy refers to the publication of Sherwin-White; however, he does not discuss the legal aspect.

7:21c) may assume any kind of occasion of ‘being able’ to be freed, but the lexical nature of the verb does point to the importance of exploring the legal conditions that slaves required in order to be manumitted. In this regard, it may be said that the scholarly discussions in the past have tended to concentrate on the question of the social probability of slaves gaining manumission during the first century CE. In other words, these studies focus on the issues related to the opportunities that *allowed* them to be emancipated, such as slave–master relationships and the social standing of slaves in the first century CE in general, as mentioned above. However, as the meaning of the verb itself suggests, it is also important to investigate the conditions of the legal eligibility for the slaves to obtain manumission, which Paul may have implied.

During the twentieth century, especially after Deissmann, there have been New Testament scholars who have studied biblical texts in relation to Greek, Roman and Jewish law: for example, William S. Muntz,⁷⁹⁹ Paul R. Coleman-Norton,⁸⁰⁰ J. Duncan M. Derrett,⁸⁰¹ S.S. Bartchy,⁸⁰² F. Lyall⁸⁰³ and J. Albert Harrill.⁸⁰⁴ Bartchy and Harrill were among those who have explored the theme

⁷⁹⁹ W.S. Muntz, *Rome, St. Paul and the Early Church: The influence of Roman law on St. Paul's teaching and Phraseology and on the Development of the Church* (London: John Murray, 1913). On manumission and citizenship, see pp. 48-55. He comments that there is no doubt that Paul used the metaphors from Roman law; Muntz states that Paul ‘consecrated’ the ideas of adoption, inheritance, tutelage, slavery, and manumission in order to convey his doctrine (p. 48). However, he does not discuss a specific law in his explanation.

⁸⁰⁰ P.R. Coleman-Norton, ‘Paul and the Roman Law of Slavery’ in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (Ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 155- 177. Coleman-Norton primarily focuses on the Roman law regarding *fugitivus* (runaway slave): pp. 172-7. His position on the interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:21 is to understand the verse parenthetically, i.e. the so-called ‘take freedom’ interpretation, and states that the passage is ‘the sum of his theoretical teaching’ on slavery (p. 161). In his footnote, he lists the reasons for manumission by relying on the study by Buckland (p. 162, n. 32); however, he does not refer to the conditions of manumission. Cf. William Warwick Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).

⁸⁰¹ J.D.M Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1970). He mainly discusses the ‘legal allusions’ in the gospels (among the eighteen chapters, seventeen are about the gospels and one is about Paul’s epistle: Rom 3:1-4), and engages mainly with a number of Jewish laws rather than Roman and Greek laws in his arguments. Naturally, he comments on the theme of redemption, that ‘sacral manumission via a temple is not the source of the image’ (p. 399, n. 4), and that ‘sin-debt image is apparent from Mishnāh’ (p. 398, n.5).

⁸⁰² For Bartchy, see the discussion above in this chapter.

⁸⁰³ Lyall refers to the *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Aelia Sentia* in his notes. However, the context of his explanation concerns adoption and the appeal against the authority, and not manumission. Lyall, *Legal Metaphors*, p. 258, n. 23, and p. 261, n. 27.

of manumission. As mentioned above, the study by Bartchy is credited with providing the details of the social and legal situation; to give one example, he helpfully explains the modes of Roman manumission that were practised. He also explains the two Roman laws that restricted manumission.⁸⁰⁵ However, in his arguments, he does not expand on the aspects of legal conditions in relation to 1 Cor. 7:21. Harrill, in his monograph *Manumission of Slaves* (1995), refers to the *Lex Junia*, explaining the category of Junian Latins.⁸⁰⁶ They were those ex-slaves who were barred from obtaining Roman citizenship (discussed further below). Harrill engages with a number of primary sources from ancient Greek literature in his philological analysis of μάλλον χρῆσαι. However, his exegesis on δύνασαι ('you are able') does not appear to take into account the legal aspect which he has explained. He points out that Paul is stating the δύναμις of slaves, but does not relate this to legal eligibility; he simply concludes that this is a passive response to the offer from the owner.⁸⁰⁷ Therefore, despite their importance, it seems that the legal conditions that slaves required to gain manumission have not been fully explained by New Testament scholars in relation to the text. In addition, it may be worth mentioning that the fact that the details of such laws became more accessible to New Testament scholars towards the end of the twentieth century possibly owes much to the publications, after the 1980s, of the scholars who specialize in ancient slavery and the freedperson, such as Keith R. Bradley,⁸⁰⁸ Orlando Patterson⁸⁰⁹ and Henrik Mouritsen.⁸¹⁰ In any event, some of the explorations made in Chapter 1 will be re-emphasized below with the additional account of the *Lex Junia* in order to understand better how the Roman laws on manumission affected the lives of

⁸⁰⁴ J.A. Harrill, *The manumission of slaves in early Christianity* (HUT 32; Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 1995).

⁸⁰⁵ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 83. n. 308.

⁸⁰⁶ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 54-5. Cf. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, p. 155.

⁸⁰⁷ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 127.

⁸⁰⁸ E.g. K.R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A study in Social Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

⁸⁰⁹ E.g. O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

⁸¹⁰ E.g. H. Mouritsen, *The Freedman in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

slaves during the first century CE.

As explained above, Augustus and later emperors⁸¹¹ introduced laws concerning conditions for manumission and conferring Roman citizenship: namely, the *Lex Fufia Caninia* enacted in 2 BCE, the *Lex Aelia Sentia* enacted in 4 CE, and the *Lex Junia* (exact date unknown). The maximum numbers of slaves and the minimum age of the slave to be manumitted (and the age of the master) were regulated by the first two laws. In addition to these restrictions, the *Lex Aelia Sentia* also imposed a list of conditions so that only slaves who had no risk of joining mobs were freed.⁸¹² Gaius states seven concrete conditions of this law: those who had been (1) chained by their masters as a punishment; (2) branded; (3) tortured on account of some offence; (4) those who used to fight with a sword, with others, or (5) with wild beasts; (6) sent to a gladiatorial school; or (7) imprisoned (*Inst.*, 1.13).⁸¹³ Those who had been in any of these circumstances were legally defined as *peregrini dediticii* ('surrendered foreigners') and were required to live at least beyond the hundredth milestone from Rome.⁸¹⁴ Considering the necessity of the law enacted in 4 CE that contained such clauses, it is most likely that the concern of the state was the considerable numbers of slaves who were war captives, very often presenting a danger of causing social unrest.⁸¹⁵ Therefore, in such a social atmosphere, slaves were screened by these laws, and especially by the *Lex Aelia Sentia*. While there were slaves who as a result were never to gain formal manumission (*peregrini dediticii*), those who passed the conditions were qualified to become Roman citizens; they were those who were expected to abide by the Roman mores and make a commitment to the values of Rome.⁸¹⁶

The third law, the *Lex Junia*, which is considered to have been enacted during the Tiberian

⁸¹¹ It is assumed by scholars that the *Lex Junia* was passed during the time of Tiberius, but the exact date is unknown. Bradley, *Slaves and Society of Rome*, p. 155. n. 3; Buckland, *Roman Law*, p. 534.

⁸¹² See 1.13 for details.

⁸¹³ Ulpian provides the same list. *Ulp.*, *Fr.*, 1.11.

⁸¹⁴ Gai., *Inst.*, 1.27.

⁸¹⁵ On this point, the view of Bartchy that 'during the first century AD the chief way persons entered slavery was by being born to a woman in slavery' has no ground. Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 115.

⁸¹⁶ Bradley discusses the purpose of the laws. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, p. 157.

period, legally defined those ex-slaves who had been freed informally as Junian Latins.⁸¹⁷ This was a middle category between the *peregrini dediticii* and the Roman citizens.⁸¹⁸ Before this law was introduced, those who were informally manumitted were called ‘Latinity’: the word originally designated the immediate geographical neighbours of the Romans, but as Rome expanded its territory during the Republic, it was largely used to designate the ex-slaves from the colonies. The difference between Latinity and Junian Latins was that they were both informally manumitted non-Roman citizens, but the *Lex Junia* prohibited them from marriage with a Roman citizen⁸¹⁹ and from making wills or taking anything under the wills of Roman citizens.⁸²⁰ Thus, they were unable to inherit any property from Romans.⁸²¹ In practical terms, for example, if a slave could not gain formal manumission for such a reason as being under the age of thirty (a condition legislated by the *Lex Aelia Sentia* in 4 CE)⁸²² and was therefore informally manumitted by the master, this person was called a Junian Latin.⁸²³ Furthermore, if this Junian Latin reached the age of thirty, the eligibility to become a Roman citizen was conferred.⁸²⁴ One of the conditions that the *Lex Junia* introduced was that, if two Junian Latins married and had a child, they were eligible to gain *formal* manumission;⁸²⁵ a record from Herculaneum in 62 CE shows that a couple of Junian Latins were awarded Roman citizenship when their infant daughter was registered on her first birthday.⁸²⁶ Therefore, the daily lives of the slaves and informally manumitted slaves were affected considerably by these laws, and it is thought

⁸¹⁷ Gai., *Inst.*, 1.22; Ulp., *Fr.*, 1.10.

⁸¹⁸ Ulp., *Fr.*, 1.5.

⁸¹⁹ I.e. *conubium*. Cf. B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (Clarendon Law Series; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 64-5.

⁸²⁰ I.e. *testamenti factio*. Cf. Nicholas, *Roman Law*, pp. 64-5.

⁸²¹ Gai., *Inst.*, 1. 23, 24. According to the *Lex Junia*, Junian Latins were not permitted to make a will (Gai., *Inst.*, 1. 23, 24): thus, when a Junian Latin died, their property automatically reverted to their former masters.

⁸²² Buckland, *Roman Law*, pp. 533, 535.

⁸²³ Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, p. 157.

⁸²⁴ Buckland, *Roman Law*, pp. 533-7.

⁸²⁵ Ulp., *Fr.*, 3.3.

⁸²⁶ Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, p. 157. Bradley refers to the record: *Herculaneum Tablets*, nos. 5, 89.

that these laws operated for centuries.⁸²⁷ Thus, the understanding of the legal aspects of manumission provides us with a picture of slaves and masters in the first century CE whereby the *eligibility* of obtaining manumission was a real concern in their daily lives, and those among the Christ-followers in Corinth were possibly no exception to this.

Furthermore, the situation of having these legal restrictions and conditions in the Roman colony also needs to be considered. The social context of Corinth during the mid-first century CE was that there were Greeks from other cities who participated in Roman political life in Corinth, as well as Augustales who were promoting the imperial cult; it is most likely that both groups created a certain ethos in society that imposed pressure on others. Those ex-slaves who successfully gained Roman manumission were to become worshippers of Rome. It can be conjectured that, because they proudly passed the strict conditions, they willingly responded to this ‘calling’.

Finally, to understand the verb δύνανται in the sense of legal competence may raise a further question: when Paul states ‘if you are able to become free’, does he strictly mean formal manumission which confers Roman citizenship, or does he also assume informal manumission? Since he states ‘become free’⁸²⁸ (ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι) (and not ‘become a Roman citizen’), that would, in theory, include informal manumission, since they were free under the terms of the *Lex Junia*; Junian Latins were freedpersons on whom Roman citizenship was not conferred. However, Paul may have had in mind slaves meeting the higher condition of obtaining formal manumission and gaining the full right of citizenship.

This view possibly needs to be discussed further in relation to the whole sentence; since the next advice of Paul in v. 21d is χρῆσαι (‘use [it]’), it is natural to consider that the object of χρῆσαι matches the antecedent, provided that the text is understood in the sense of ‘take freedom’. Although hypothetical, in the light of what has been explored above, the object of the verb is considered to be the legal right obtained by manumission. Thus, what Paul urges them to use, in an imperative tone, is not an abstract concept of freedom, but the legal advantages that can be gained from being

⁸²⁷ Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, p. 157.

⁸²⁸ The meaning of ἐλεύθερος cannot be *ingenui* (free-born) in this context since no one could have become free-born through manumission.

manumitted, whether as a Junian Latin or a Roman citizen. In this sense, it may be reasonable to assume the status with a larger degree of right,⁸²⁹ i.e. Roman citizenship; however, either status will hold, in the sense that, whatever the gained right may be, it is to be used. Nonetheless, it is also important at this stage not to exclude the possibility that Paul counselled Christ-followers *not* to obtain manumission even if they were legally eligible. His *purpose* of using the new status, or remaining in the present condition, needs to be explained from Paul's theological point of view, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

5.2.3 The modes of manumission and 1 Cor. 7:21

It is said that there were three formal and two informal modes of manumission,⁸³⁰ and, as mentioned in the previous discussion, Paul may have referred to any of these in 1 Cor. 7:21. However, it is important in this section to explore the practices and administration of formal manumission in Corinth for this will offer key insights into the processes that masters and slaves had to undertake in Corinth.

As was shown in Chapter 1, the three modes of formal manumission were *manumissio censu*, *testamento* and *vindicta*. They were each under the control of the state, and each mode of formal manumission required ratification and authorization. In the provinces, it was the provincial governor who supervised formal manumission.⁸³¹ Although there seems to have been a constant need for magistrates with *imperium* (who were able to practise *vindicta*), as implied in the work of Pliny,⁸³² *vindicta* was indeed performed in the provinces. During the Empire, obtaining manumission through *censu* was rare since censuses took place sporadically, and, in practical terms, it was more convenient to be manumitted through *vindicta*, which slave owners could have asked for at almost any time of the

⁸²⁹ Junian Latins had restrictions: in addition to the above, they were permitted to be agents of their patron (had *commercium*), but could not work independently. Cf. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 55; Nicholas, *Roman Law*, p. 64.

⁸³⁰ Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 54; Buckland, *Roman Law*, pp. 439-44; Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 20-31. See 1.2.1 for details.

⁸³¹ Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*, p. 155; Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 21.

⁸³² Plin. Ep. 7.16.4, 32.1.

year,⁸³³ provided that their slaves were eligible to be manumitted. Thus, *censu* gradually diminished as the other two modes began to confer citizenship.⁸³⁴ *Testamento* was common in Rome, especially after the free grain dole to citizens was introduced in 58 BCE by Clodius. Masters gained social reputation by freeing numbers of slaves by testament, especially at their funeral, where they were surrounded by their freedpersons wearing *pilleus*. However, as mentioned above, *testamento* was affected by the *Lex Fufia Caninia*, introduced in 2 BCE, which restricted the number of slaves to be emancipated.⁸³⁵ It has been pointed out by Susan Treggiari that although *testamento* may have been popular among the wealthy Romans from ostentatious households, *vindicta* became more common by the end of the Republic.⁸³⁶ This was especially so among masters with a small number of slaves, since, apart from reasons of ostentation, it was in practice more advantageous for the owners to manumit their slaves than to keep them as slaves until the death of the owner. This is because, following manumission, former masters were not only released from economic responsibilities but still received services from slaves through *operae*. In provinces, where the colonies were to supply resources to Rome, support for ex-slaves such as doles from the state could not be expected. It is not inconceivable that there was some kind of privately funded distribution in Corinth, although the occurrence of famine in Greece in the mid-first century CE makes it difficult to assume such a possibility.⁸³⁷ It is thus less likely that there were large-scale manumissions by *testamento* (as seen in Rome during the latter half of the first century BCE) in Corinth during the mid-first century CE. Therefore, Treggiari's observation that, by the time of the late Republic, *manumissio vindicta* was

⁸³³ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 21.

⁸³⁴ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 27.

⁸³⁵ Gai., *Inst.*, 1.42.

⁸³⁶ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, pp. 27-8, 30.

⁸³⁷ One cannot deny the possibility that Augustales provided such resources in Corinth, as the relief from Pompeii shows (Fig. 3.1). They were encouraging freedpersons to join the Augustales, and the dole could have been one of their schemes; however, as there is no evidence from Corinth, it must be said that this is no better than conjecture. According to Peter Garnsey, there had been a 'food shortage which affected numerous states in Greece and elsewhere in the 40s and early 50s', CE, which makes it more difficult to deduce such a possibility. Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 261.

likely to have been more common than *testamento* and *censu*⁸³⁸ is most likely to have been the case in Corinth during the time of Paul.

The important point when considering the situation in Greek colonies is that there were traditions of Greek sacral manumission in the provinces. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, the ways in which the Romans administered this custom must have been an important part of their agenda. It may not be an unrealistic reconstruction to consider that they not only banned the tradition but also ‘transformed’ it into Roman style for the purpose of conferring Roman formal manumission. For example, the evidence from Apulum, as discussed in 4.1.2, suggests that there was a slave who was emancipated in the name of Aesculapius, a Roman deity that was originally a Greek deity, Asclepius.⁸³⁹ Although the evidence is from the second century CE, parallels may be drawn with the situation in Corinth as the Romans were thought to be well aware that the Greek sacral manumission could be remodelled into Roman manumission, especially considering their keen utilization of Greek cults as a crucial way of controlling the people in Corinth (as noted in the previous chapter).

It may be difficult to determine whether or not Roman manumission indeed took place in the Greek temples that were remodelled by the Romans, but the fact that people of a Greek cultural background were familiar with the tradition of sacral manumission seems to be in no doubt; within this provincial context, where the Romans constantly sought ways to control the subordinate people, *manumissio vindicta* might have gained an additional role. That is, rather than simply manumitting slaves in a judicial manner, which was a traditional process in Rome, *manumissio vindicta* came to possess a cultic emphasis in the context of Greek provinces where Greek temples and their priests had authority to manumit slaves. Thus, the process of obtaining formal manumission for slaves in Corinth is to be understood in its context: a) since it was not an entirely new concept for slaves from the land of Greece, and b) considering the privileges they benefitted from in becoming Roman citizens, they may generally have felt no obstacle in accepting the procedure if their owners had decided to carry it out, regardless of their perception of the imperial cult and the Emperor. Thus, it may be said that

⁸³⁸ Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, p. 30. For a traditional view, cf. Buckland, *Roman Law*, p. 460; A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 194.

⁸³⁹ *CIL* III 1079. See 4.1.2. for details.

Roman formal manumission was, in effect, a ritual of the state religion that converted slaves into loyal Roman citizens.

5.2.4 The question of χρῆσαι and the Roman imperial context

As was shown in the first section of this chapter, understandings of the verb χρῆσαι and its elliptical object have mostly been divided into two views since the time of the church fathers. The sense in which Paul used the verb had mostly been understood as either ‘remain in slavery’ or ‘take freedom’,⁸⁴⁰ but Bartchy, in his key publication from 1973, explored an alternative meaning of χράομαι,⁸⁴¹ which, as has been shown, has gained much attention in New Testament scholarship. One of the key points Bartchy stressed was the lacuna of studies that engaged with the social context of the first century CE,⁸⁴² for which point his work is credited by many scholars.⁸⁴³ However, it is felt that there is still a need to explore the problem of the verb χράομαι in relation to the social setting of Corinth, especially the Roman imperial context. Before probing into this question, the study will first discuss the meaning of the verb which Bartchy proposed in his work. The overview of his argument and critiques of his study will also be explored.

Bartchy begins his argument by pointing out that the verb is used by Josephus and other writers to mean, ‘to live in accordance with the laws (τοῖς νόμοις)’,⁸⁴⁴ and proposes the possibility of the same use in 1 Cor. 7.21d. According to Bartchy, the investigation of the use of χράομαι in the works of Josephus showed that in at least twenty seven out of the 530 appearances of the verb it is used in the sense of, ‘to live according to (e.g. the laws of the Jewish nation)’, and on another three

⁸⁴⁰ For grammatical reasons, see 5.1.1.

⁸⁴¹ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 155-9. For a general view on the work of Bartchy, see 5.1.2, under the entry of ‘New Testament scholarship after 1970’.

⁸⁴² Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 34-5.

⁸⁴³ E.g. Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 25.

⁸⁴⁴ Bauer refers to Jos., *C. Ap.*, 2, 125, Jos., *Ant.*, 16, 27, Herodotus, and the shepherd of Hermas. He also cites 1 Tim. 1:8 as a comparison. Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (tr. W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich; Fourth revised and augmented ed.; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 892.

occasions the verb is used in the sense of, ‘to follow a way of life’.⁸⁴⁵ From these observations, he proposes two possibilities to fill in the ellipsis in v. 21d: *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι ταῖς ἐντολαῖς θεοῦ* (‘by all means, keep the commands of God’),⁸⁴⁶ and *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι τῇ κλήσει* (‘by all means, live according to your calling [in Christ]’).⁸⁴⁷ These phrases, i.e. the commands of God, and the calling in Christ, are chosen on the basis of the context, what he calls the ‘conceptual frame’, of the passage.⁸⁴⁸ In addition, he explains that the reason for the sudden change within the verse, namely, from the content relevant to those who were bound to slavery to those who were about to be manumitted (from v. 21ab to cd), is that Paul had in mind the specific Christ-followers in Corinth who were in the latter situation. Thus, according to Bartchy, Paul urges these slaves ‘to “live according to” their calling in Christ in their new social status as freedmen’.⁸⁴⁹ Although Bartchy provides two alternative readings, he concludes that the option of ‘live according to your calling’ is preferable to that of ‘keep the commands of God’, considering the theological context of Chapter 7.⁸⁵⁰

Barrett, in his critique of the study of Bartchy, comments that ‘indeed, the normal *use* of laws is to obey them’,⁸⁵¹ his point is that it is a simple fact that, when the verb *χράομαι* is used in the context of laws, the verb is to be understood to mean adhering to the laws. Thus, it is most likely that, in the twenty-seven cases among the 530 uses of *χράομαι* in the writings of Josephus to which Bartchy refers, the verb is used in relation to νόμος. In other words, since this is a specific use of the verb, the meaning of the verb is highly dependent on the context; thus, it is the context of laws that determines the translation of *χράομαι* as ‘keep’ or ‘live according to’. When turning to the case in v. 21d, it is possible that the context of ‘calling’ may imply the meaning of the verb to be ‘live according

⁸⁴⁵ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 156. The investigation of Bartchy is critiqued in that he does not refer to the specific texts of Josephus in his publication. Ernest Best, ‘Review of First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7.21. By S. Scott Bartchy (SBLDS, 11; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973)’, *SJT* 31 (1978), pp 388-9 (389).

⁸⁴⁶ Barrett points out that τοῦ is required in front of θεοῦ. Barrett, *review*, p. 174.

⁸⁴⁷ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 156-7.

⁸⁴⁸ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 157.

⁸⁴⁹ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 158.

⁸⁵⁰ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 158.

⁸⁵¹ Barrett, *review*, p. 174. The italics in the quote are by Barrett.

to'. However, one must also take into account the immediate context: i.e. the topic of manumission. The context suggests that the meaning of the verb is to do with slavery or freedom. Thus, in order to accept an alternative meaning of the verb to the conventional 'remain in slavery' and 'take freedom' options, such as that proposed by Bartchy, it requires a stronger account in terms of its context.

One of the weakest elements in the study by Bartchy, whose work was credited by scholars with providing the details of the social reality of slavery, is said to be that it did not engage with the primary evidence from Corinth, a point which has been pointed out by scholars such as Harrill in his publication in 1994. However, Harrill also does not seem to affirm further prospect of approaching the question by using the evidence from Corinth, since he considers that the sources that show slavery in Corinth have not survived.⁸⁵² It is likely that these early studies did not take seriously the actual context of Corinth since it was only possible to discuss the situation of slavery in general. It may be true that there is no extant evidence that reveals in detail the situations of slaves and their emancipations in Corinth. However, this does not necessarily suggest that this approach has reached its limit; on the contrary, the social meaning of manumission can be explored by the careful investigation of the social background of Corinth, which this section has aimed to articulate.

The following example is an investigation of the verb *χράομαι* in which the social context of the Roman imperial rule in Corinth needs to be taken into account. It attempts to seek an alternative meaning of the verb, which opens further discussion in relation to the imperial context in Corinth. In the Greek-English lexicon (*LSJ*), one of the entries for *χράομαι* shows the definition: 'place oneself at the disposal of another',⁸⁵³ with two examples (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 1.2.13 and 8.1.5), which may well fit in the context of v. 21. The settings of the examples show that the people are to hand themselves over to certain authorities.⁸⁵⁴ In 8.1.5, Xenophon states: *παρέχωμέν τε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς*

⁸⁵² Harrill critiques the study of Bartchy by pointing out that although Bartchy writes that his goal is to 'define with some precision what it means to be a slave in Corinth in the middle of the first century A.D.' (Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 37), Bartchy does not, and is unable to do this since the primary evidence that is required to explain the details of slavery in Roman Corinth have not survived. Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, p. 99.

⁸⁵³ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (revised and augmented by Sir Henry Stuart Jones; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), under the entry of *χράω*, C. IV. 3.

⁸⁵⁴ X., *Cyr.*, 1.2.13 and 8.1.5. Strictly, in both cases, *χράομαι* is used in the infinitive form (*χρησθαι*) with the verb *παρέχω* (hand over). For the context of the passage, see below: 'In the first place, like the youths,

χρησθαι Κύρῳ ('let us hand over ourselves to submit to Cyrus').⁸⁵⁵ If this meaning is applied to v. 21cd, a word or phrase that represents 'yourself' is required; thus, it may be legitimate to supply σεαυτόν as the missing object of the verb χρῆσαι. The use of the exact phrase χρῆσαι σεαυτόν can in fact be found in one ancient source (using *TLG*). In the writing of Basil of Caesarea in the fourth century CE,⁸⁵⁶ the phrase is used in the letter to encourage the believers; the bishop of Caesarea admonishes them χρῆσαι σεαυτὸν ὁλοκλήρως τῇ συνηγορίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας ('submit yourself completely to the advocacy of truth').⁸⁵⁷ Thus, philologically, this meaning of χρᾶομαι with σεαυτόν as its object can be another option. The weakest point of this option, however, is the rarity and the date of the supporting evidence, which appears three centuries later than the time of Paul. Nonetheless, it is worth applying this use to v. 21cd, which offers the following two understandings. μᾶλλον χρῆσαι σεαυτόν can be translated as (1) '[even if you are able to gain freedom,] rather, submit yourself', and the indirect object in this case would be the master (τῷ κυρίῳ: the slave owner); or (2) '[if you are indeed able to gain freedom,] by all means, submit yourself', and the indirect object is assumed to be the Roman authority, or since the ex-slave became a Roman citizen, in effect, the Emperor (Καίσαρι). In other words, the former understanding is that Paul orders the slave to remain in slavery by directly writing to the slave that one should submit oneself to the authority of the master. On the other hand, the latter option is that Paul commands the slave to take freedom, but that is to mean that Paul is writing to the slave that one may place oneself under the power of Rome. In this sense, the latter interpretation is tempting in the light of what has been discussed above: that manumission needs to be understood in the context of Roman imperial rule, and

they are at the disposal of the authorities (παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι), if they are needed in the interest of the commonwealth in any service that requires men who have already attained discretion and are still strong in body.' (1.2.13; tr. Walter Miller, 1914); 'Let us, therefore, present ourselves before our ruler's headquarters yonder, as Cyrus bids; let us devote ourselves to those pursuits by which we shall best be able to hold fast to that which we ought, and let us offer ourselves for whatever service Cyrus (παρέχωμέν τε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι Κύρῳ) may need us for. And this trust will not be abused, for we may be sure that Cyrus will never be able to find anything in which he can employ us for his own advantage and not equally for ours; for we have common interests and we have common enemies.' (8.1.5; tr. Walter Miller, 1914).

⁸⁵⁵ Note that χρᾶομαι is used in the infinitive form in this case.

⁸⁵⁶ Basilus Caesariensis, *Epistulae*, VII, 1. This is the only occurrence of χρῆσαι + σεαυτόν one can find in the search using *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (*TLG*); there is no occurrence of χρῆσθε + ἑαυτούς.

⁸⁵⁷ *Epistulae*, VII, 1, line 14; my translation.

that it has been shown that only those who passed the conditions of becoming loyal citizens of Rome were awarded manumission by the Roman authority. Therefore, the alternative understanding of the verb does fit in the context of Roman imperial rule. However, one concern is that there remains a fundamental question; before pursuing the possibility of this interpretation any further, one must acknowledge the fact that it is not certain whether the use of this specific meaning of the verb (‘placing oneself under the power of another’) was common in the first century CE. Whether or not the interpretation may seem to be consistent with the social situation of Corinth, the fact that the phrase *χρησάι σεαυτόν* does not seem to appear in the extant texts contemporary with Paul also makes it difficult for this proposition to be a realistic reconstruction of the sentence.⁸⁵⁸

Nonetheless, although this alternative meaning of the verb may not be a persuasive option, the above discussions may have served to open further discussion. It has been shown the importance of understanding Paul’s use of this verb in relation to the social situation of the time, especially to that of Roman rule over Corinth. It may be that Paul’s thoughts on Roman imperial rule lie behind his use of the verb because manumission was an important statutory process of Rome. Since his command on manumission, *μᾶλλον χρησάι*, cannot be independent from the social condition of the time, it has become clear, not only that reconstructing the social context of Roman Corinth is important, but that the understanding of *how Paul saw* Roman imperial rule is equally vital. For example, it is possible to argue that, *because* the reality of manumission under imperial rule was as it was, Paul commanded slaves not to take it; or, *even though* the situation of manumission under the power of Rome was as it was, Paul ordered them to accept manumission. In other words, in order to discuss these views further, it is necessary to understand the view of Paul towards Roman rule in Corinth. As the social conditions related to manumission in Roman Corinth have been discussed above, the next task will be to discuss how Paul saw Roman imperial rule through the lens of the situation of the Christ-followers in Corinth.

In this chapter, the crux of 1 Cor. 7:21 has been discussed in relation to the social context of Roman Corinth, the importance of which has been shown in the previous studies. It has been acknowledged by scholars that it is crucial to take into account the social context of the time, but to

⁸⁵⁸ The use of the phrase *χρησάι σεαυτόν* in ancient literature was searched, and its rarity was confirmed, by using *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG)*. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/fontsel>

reestablish the specific situation of slavery in Corinth is difficult because of the lack of extant evidence. In this chapter, the meaning of gaining manumission in the setting of Roman Corinth has been discussed with a careful exploration of the society of Corinth. It can be summarized that, from the exploration of four aspects of manumission in its social context, the connotations of the two verbs, namely, δύνασαι and χρῆσαι, have been highlighted in the Roman imperial context.

In the social context of Roman rule in the first century CE, to gain manumission meant that slaves were required to pass rigid conditions which the Romans imposed. From the Roman point of view, these regulations were designed to emancipate only the slaves who were willing to adhere to Roman mores in order to keep the order of the Empire. Thus, the meaning of δύνασαι ('you are able') to gain manumission needs to be understood in this context. Manumission in this sense was not merely a practice that took place in the individual relationships between slaves and masters, but statutory manumission that was a part of the effective Roman programme to create among the people the ethos of loyalty to Rome. It has also been argued that Roman manumission in Corinth, where there was a tradition of Greek sacral manumission, possibly emphasized the element of the imperial cult. This has been argued in the light of the findings explored in the previous chapters that Roman rule in Corinth was to a large extent concerned with controlling the people of Greek cultural background, and that their keen utilization of the Greek cults can be seen in Corinth.⁸⁵⁹ On the other hand, the response of ex-slaves can also be deduced from the evidence. For example, the competitive atmosphere among freedpersons and their candidates is not difficult to imagine since there were freedpersons that entered the ruling elite in the society of Roman Corinth. The presence of the Augustales in Corinth also shows the spontaneous involvement of freedpersons in the imperial cult. In addition, the fact that Greeks from other cities during the mid-first century CE participated in *cursus honorum* shows the centralization of Roman power in Corinth. Therefore, the meaning of χρῆσαι ('use [it]', i.e. 'remain in slavery' or 'take freedom') must be understood in the light of this social context.

Lightfoot, in his commentary in 1895, stated that the main argument of the question of 1 Cor.

⁸⁵⁹ For Roman colonial policy towards Greek cults in Corinth, see Chapter 2 (esp. 2.3) and Chapter 4.

7:21 is the *purpose* for slaves to become free.⁸⁶⁰ Referring to the circumstances of Paul, such as his possession of Roman citizenship, Lightfoot commented on the importance of the meaning of gaining freedom and social rights from the perspective of ministry. Although this point may seem obvious, the history of interpretation has shown that there have not been many studies with a thorough exploration of the meaning of the freedom which ex-slaves gained in its social setting. It may be possible to state that the dichotomous nature of the debate among scholars may have taken the concept of freedom out of its original context and replaced it with a more abstract idea of freedom or a concept of emancipation in a different context.

The question of $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ is important in this sense since it contains the problem of the elliptical object. Because the nature of the question is inevitably hypothetical (i.e. it asks not only to determine the meaning of the verb, but also to fill in the elliptical object of the verb), it also requires the reader to explain the reason for the command. In order to explain the rationale for Paul's statement, it would be necessary to explain it not from the general meaning of e.g. 'freedom' or 'slavery' but from the meaning that is rooted in the specific social context of Corinth. The study will further explore the reasoning behind such statements by Paul in terms of how he saw the context of Roman imperial rule.

⁸⁶⁰ Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles*, p. 230.

CHAPTER 6

MANUMISSION AND THE QUESTION OF ‘IDOL FOOD’

As discussed in the previous chapters, one of the significant points of imperial rule in Corinth is that the Romans revived local cults as a part of civic religion.⁸⁶¹ Traditional cults were remodelled into Roman style and controlled by the Romans. This renewal of the traditional cults was intended to rule the masses from a religious perspective. The practice of manumission was deeply related to this cultic context since it is most likely that the Romans effectively replaced the tradition of sacral manumission in Greek cults with *manumissio vindicta* in colonies such as Corinth.⁸⁶² Thus, manumission was not merely a Roman statutory procedure, but a practice that gained a religious character in the course of the incorporation of Greek cults into the Roman civic cult. Given the fact that freedpersons, i.e. those who were manumitted by the Romans, formed a significant part of the population in Roman societies,⁸⁶³ one cannot dismiss the influence of the ‘manumitted people’ on society at large as well as on the communities in Roman Corinth. One of their characteristics was their strong loyalty to Rome, which was derived from their experience of manumission.⁸⁶⁴ It is most conceivable that Paul had views on the nature of these people, who were bound to honour the emperor. Their bond with the imperial cult must have been an issue once freedpersons became Christ-followers. One may thus wonder whether one will find any signs of the impact of manumission upon the people in the letters of Paul to the Corinthians. The question of so-called ‘idol food’ (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1) may be legitimately discussed in this light. In these passages, Paul advises the Corinthians not to place a hindrance before

⁸⁶¹ See 2.3.2 for details. Cf. Nancy Bookidis, ‘Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.’, in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (eds. D.N. Schowalter and S.J. Friesen; Cambridge: HTS, 2005), p. 163.

⁸⁶² See 4.1.2 (under the subheading of ‘Evidence from the cult of Asclepius in Buthrotum’) and 5.2.3 for details.

⁸⁶³ The evidence from professional and religious *collegia* in Rome and Italy during the Republic and the early Principate shows that more than sixty per cent of the members were freedpersons. See the discussion in 1.1.2.

⁸⁶⁴ See 1.2.1 for details.

other believers by consuming ‘idol food’ (8:9-13, 10:28), since he mentions that there are those who are at risk of falling back into the pagan cult, possibly because they have had a strong attachment to the cult in the past. The background to the issue is the cultic situation in Corinth, where the imperial cult controlled the local cults. For the Christ-followers in Corinth, and especially for the ‘manumitted people’ among them, the issue of ‘idol food’ was most likely to be a crucial problem which they faced in everyday life.

By exploring the question of ‘idol food’, this chapter intends to discuss the impact of manumission upon the Christ-followers in Corinth. In the first section, it will explore the interpretation of the passages in question (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1) in order to understand Paul’s thoughts on the problem of ‘idol food’. Some of the major studies in the past will be discussed in the light of the cultic background studied in the previous chapters. After providing a basic account of the social setting of ‘idol food’ and Paul’s view on the issue, the second section discusses the question of ‘idol food’ in relation to the aspect of freedpersons: it focuses on the ways in which their experience of manumission affected their understanding of eating ‘idol food’. An overview of the nature of freedpersons, including issues such as *patronatus*, as well as of Greeks who did not experience manumission, will be discussed. It is hoped that this section will offer an insight into the background of those who were at risk of falling back into idol worship.

6.1 The interpretation of 1 Cor. 8:1-11:1

6.1.1 Interpretive problems

Paul opens his arguments in this section (8.1-11.1) with the phrase, *περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων* (concerning food offered to idols),⁸⁶⁵ which suggests that it was one of the issues to which the

⁸⁶⁵ The meaning of τὰ εἰδωλόθυστα has been much discussed by many scholars as to whether it is to be translated as ‘sacrificed’ or ‘offered’, and ‘food’ or ‘meat’. Traditionally, the word has been understood to mean meat offered to an idol or that sold in the market (M.S. Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York: Harper, 1938), p. 251; A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1911), p. 163; M. E. Thrall, *The First and Second Letters of Paul to the Corinthians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1965), p. 61); some scholars have understood the term in this way without addressing the questions of its meaning directly (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 137 and 142; K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul: Their Motive and Origin* (London: Rivingtons, 1911), p.

Corinthians referred in their previous letter addressed to Paul.⁸⁶⁶ It is generally understood that those among the Corinthians who claim that they have ‘knowledge’, conventionally called the ‘strong’ (in opposition to the ‘weak’),⁸⁶⁷ ate idol food without compunction (8:1-4 and vv.9-13) and are likely to

198; Wendell L. Willis, *Idol Meat in Corinth: The Pauline Argument in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1985), p. 1; see the overview in: Peter David Gooch, *Dangerous Food: 1 Corinthians 8-10 in Its Context* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), p. 53, n. 1). Gordon Fee, however, stressed in his commentary that εἰδωλόθυτα primarily indicates consuming sacrificial food at meals at a pagan temple (Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 359). He does not specify the food as meat, but argues that the central issue is the association with the idol worship, which leads to the interpretation that the consumption of εἰδωλόθυτα is prohibited (p. 360).

Theissen discussed the issue from a socioeconomic point of view; his emphasis is that the socioeconomic background of the question of εἰδωλόθυτα explains the different attitudes of the people towards meat (Theissen, *Social Setting*, pp. 125-9): the people of lower social strata did not have many occasions to eat meat except for public cultic feasts or when they were invited to pagan temple meals. Theissen provides evidence for five occasions where the people of lower strata had the chance to eat meat (pp. 127-8): when meat was publicly distributed for both extraordinary events (e.g. celebration of a victory) and particular days (often for all the citizens, residents and also strangers); great religious feasts paid for by the state or by the contribution of wealthy individual citizens; specific feasts provided by the many associations; and private invitations to the temple. On the other hand, it was much more common for the elites; he explains that there were social reasons for the association of wealth with idol worship since it was necessary for them to cultivate connections with non-believers (p. 131). Thus, it is understandable that those who very often ate meat had fewer problems in eating it, whereas those who rarely ate meat were more conscious of the origin of the meat that had been sacrificed to idols. Since Theissen discusses the tension between the upper and lower social strata among the members of the Corinthians on the basis of the premise above, his whole argument would not hold if εἰδωλόθυτα were not ‘meat’. The understanding of εἰδωλόθυτα affects his interpretation that Paul primarily intends in the passages in question to mediate in the conflict caused by the socioeconomic difference among the Corinthians (pp. 138-9).

More recent studies, such as that of Peter D. Gooch, maintain that the people in antiquity offered many kinds of food to their deities; the noun θυσία does not necessarily mean ‘sacrifice’ but could also denote ‘offering’ (see the entry: θυσία, A, II, in Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (revised and augmented by Sir Henry Stuart Jones; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940). Liddell and Scott also point out that the verb θύω is sometimes distinguished from σφάζω: to slaughter for sacrifice (H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889)). Thus, Gooch argues that there is nothing in 1 Corinthians that suggest the meaning is exclusively ‘meat’; this is especially so when considering the fact that Paul uses βρῶμα (i.e. food in general) in relation to the cause of the fall of others (8:13); further, it is also important to note that Paul in the same verse specifically uses κρέας to indicate ‘meat’ for his own relinquishment. (Cf. Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, pp. 53-4; Mark T. Finney, *Honour and Conflict in the Ancient World: 1 Corinthians in its Greco-Roman Social Setting* (London: T&T Clark International, 2012), p. 160; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 617-620.) Following the points made above, this study employs ‘food offered to idols’ as a general meaning of εἰδωλόθυτα, and specifies the type of food as ‘meat’ or the action taken as ‘sacrifice’ where this is necessary from the context.

⁸⁶⁶ Fitzmyer is sceptical of the view that the issue was mentioned in the letter sent to Paul; however, he accepts that there are a number of sayings that reflect the ideas that were shared among the believers. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Anchor Yale Bible 32; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 330. Hurd summarises possible verses of quotations from the letter of the Corinthians sent to Paul. J.C. Hurd, Jr., *The Origin of 1 Corinthians* (London: SPCK, 1965), p. 68.

⁸⁶⁷ Some scholars are careful about the conventional labelling of those who claim that they have knowledge, since Paul never refers to them as the ‘strong’ (e.g. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 333). E. Coye Still, III refers to them as the ‘knowers’: E.C. Still, III, ‘Paul’s Aims regarding εἰδωλόθυτα: A New Proposal for Interpreting 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1’, *NovT* 44 (2002), pp. 333-343. However, the term the ‘strong’ will be employed in this study for convenience.

have had occasions to participate in cultic meals at the temples (8:10). Paul is concerned that their attitude will be a stumbling block to the ‘weak’⁸⁶⁸ (8:9) who were from Jewish or Greek backgrounds and who would have considered that their conscience would be defiled (8:7). It is also thought that the ‘strong’ were teaching the ‘weak’ to overcome their qualms with their ‘knowledge’.⁸⁶⁹

Paul’s response is not easy to follow, as a number of studies have shown.⁸⁷⁰ Barrett, for

Scholars have also attempted to explore the sources of thought with which the Corinthians had contact. For example, Conzelmann, who is wary of identifying the exact source precisely, states that ‘ideas of Jewish and Greek origin (popular philosophy) ... , traditional views of Greek religion, products of the mysteries (initiation, ecstasies) ... are present and cannot be neatly separated’ (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 15). However, he also comments that what he describes as proto-Gnostics can be traced independently (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 15, n.115). Theissen is of the opinion that there is no connection between the wisdom with which the Corinthians were fascinated and the Gnosticism of the second century; however, he maintains the parallels between the two. On the basis of analogy between the two situations, he assumes that the people of higher social level are more likely to familiarize themselves with the superior insight of a broader perspective, whereas those of lower strata tend to hold superstitious notions because of their limited experience (Theissen, *Social Setting*, pp. 132-7). Other scholarly opinion, such as that of Richard A. Horsley, stresses the influence of Philonic philosophy (R.A. Horsley, ‘Consciousness and Freedom among the Corinthians: 1 Corinthians 8-10’, *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 574-89; R.A. Horsley, ‘“How Can Some of You Say there is no Resurrection of the Dead?”: Spiritual Elitism in Corinth’, *NovT* 20 (1978), pp. 203-31; cf. B.A. Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul and its Relation to Gnosticism* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1973), p. 82; cf. Chow, *Patronage*, p.118). On the other hand, John M.G. Barclay is one of the scholars who argue against this view; one of the important points is that many of the parallel passages in Philo that are claimed as evidence are where Philo’s thought has been influenced by Stoic or Platonic philosophy. Thus, Barclay points out the possibility that the Corinthians could have been engaged in a similar process; that is, their Hellenistic theological culture was combined with the Jewish traditions and Paul’s teaching. As Philo represents Hellenized Judaism, the Corinthians, conversely, represent ‘Judaized Hellenism’. Barclay also comments that this view explains Paul’s statement in 1:22, ‘Greeks desire wisdom’ (John M.G. Barclay, ‘Thessalonica and Corinth: Social Contrasts in Pauline Christianity’, *JSNT* 47 (1992), pp. 49-74 (p. 65, n. 29)).

⁸⁶⁸ Hans Conzelmann is of the opinion that the ‘weak’ were not a closed group, but ‘were simply weak’. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 147. Hurd also considers that the ‘weak’ did not form a group. Hurd, *Origin*, p. 125.

⁸⁶⁹ The point that the ‘strong’ were edifying the ‘weak’ is based on the fact that Paul uses one of his theological key words, ‘to build up’, ironically in 8:10 (Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 387). Hurd considers that there was no cleavage among the Corinthians but that they were largely opposed to Paul (Hurd, *Origin*, p. 146-7). Murphy-O’Connor, for example, disagrees with Hurd’s view. Murphy-O’Connor, ‘Freedom or the Ghetto’, *RB* 85 (1978), pp. 543-574 (544).

⁸⁷⁰ E.g. (major commentaries are omitted) C.K. Barrett, ‘Things Sacrificed to Idols’, *NTS* 11 (1965), pp. 138-153; Alex T. Cheung, *Idol Food in Corinth: Jewish Background and Pauline Legacy* (JSNTSup 176; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1999); Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, pp. 333-43; G.D. Fee, ‘Εἰδωλόθυτα Once Again: An Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 8-10’, *Bib* 61 (1980), pp. 172-97; Bruce N. Fisk, ‘Eating Meat Offered to Idols: Corinthian Behavior and Pauline Response in 1 Corinthians 8-10 (A Response to Gordon Fee)’, *TJ* 10 (1989), pp. 49-70; P.D. Gardner, *The Gifts of God and the Authentication of a Christian: An Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 8-11:1* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994); Gooch, *Dangerous Food*; Horsley, ‘Consciousness and Freedom’, pp. 574-89; Horsley, ‘Gnosis in Corinth: 1 Corinthians 8:1-6’, *NTS* 27 (1980), pp. 32-51; Hurd, *Origin*, pp. 240-88; Murphy-O’Connor, ‘Freedom’, pp. 543-574; Theissen, *Social Setting*, pp. 121-143; J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970 [1910]) pp. 210-67;

example, comments on the passages as providing an ‘apparently confused and inconsistent treatment of idolatry and idolatrous practices’.⁸⁷¹ Similarly, Conzelmann states, ‘the question is, however, whether Paul can argue both ways in the same breath’.⁸⁷² The flow of the argument in 1 Cor. 8:1-11:1 will be explained briefly below.

His advice to the Corinthians (or to the ‘strong’⁸⁷³), on the one hand, apparently shows ‘liberalism’;⁸⁷⁴ he agrees with the ‘strong’ that there is only one God and no idol really exists (8:4); thus, no food can be contaminated even if it were offered to an idol (8:8), and whether it should be eaten is therefore insignificant. On the other hand, he counsels the ‘strong’ to abstain from eating ‘idol food’ in order not to be an obstacle to the ‘weak’, since such behaviour is not only to sin against them but to sin against Christ (8:12). Paul then uses himself as the example of forgoing his right as an apostle (8:13-9:27, esp. 9:12, 15 and 18). Although it may appear that Paul is defending his apostleship in this passage,⁸⁷⁵ the main purpose is to illustrate the renunciation of his right as a self-exemplary argument,⁸⁷⁶ the key theme that apparently runs through the wider context. His next focus shifts to his warning to those who attend cultic feasts at the temples and worship the idols (10:1-23). This is a shift in his argument, since his previous discussion on ‘idol food’ (8:1-13) was primarily focused on εἰδωλόθυτα (food offered to idols) and not on idol worship (εἰδωλολατρία). The tone of the passage becomes most polemical as he juxtaposes the two tables of meals: ‘you cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons’ (10:21b).

Willis, *Idol Meat*; Ben Witherington III, ‘Not So Idle Thoughts About Eidolothuton’, *TynBul* 44 (1993), pp. 237- 254.

⁸⁷¹ Barrett, ‘Things Sacrificed’, p. 149.

⁸⁷² Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 137.

⁸⁷³ The content of the passage shows that Paul’s response is addressed to the ‘strong’. Cf. 8:9, 10, 11; 10:15, 31. E.g. Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 137. Koester, *Introduction*, p. 124.

⁸⁷⁴ Barrett, ‘Things Sacrificed’, p. 147.

⁸⁷⁵ For example, M.M. Mitchell argues that in order to see 1 Corinthians 9 as his ἀπολογία, one would need to reconstruct the actual charges from which Paul defends himself. Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (HUT 28; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), pp. 245-6. Mitchell offers detailed scholarly opinions in her footnotes (p. 244, nos. 328-330).

⁸⁷⁶ For example, Mitchell maintains that the appeal to example of Paul himself is the ‘unifying deliberative appeal’ in 1 Corinthians. Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, p. 247.

After his two rather abrupt shifts, i.e. his point on the relinquishment of his right as an apostle and the issue of idol worship, the theme of the argument returns to the question of food (10:23-11:1): but this time, the cases are of food sold at the market⁸⁷⁷ (10:25) and food served at a meal provided by an unbeliever (10:27). In these settings, Paul encourages them to eat the food, but, as in the previous argument on 'idol food' (8:1-13), he reminds the 'strong' of the principle of not placing a hindrance before others (10:28 and 32). If they come to know that the food has been offered to idols, they should not consume the food. Thus, the criterion for abstaining from eating is, as Conzelmann explains, concerned not with the food but with the conscience:⁸⁷⁸ that is, the criterion is not to wound the conscience of others.

Following the arguments which Paul makes, one may ask for a coherent explanation, especially of the relationship between the discussion of food offered to idols and that of idol worship. It is clear that Paul strongly warns not to engage in idol worship by referring to the example from Exodus of an explicit image of the people who worshipped the golden calf.⁸⁷⁹ The question is whether Paul permits the former (εἰδωλόθυτα) while strongly disapproving of the latter (εἰδωλολατρία). Although Paul's argument appears to show inconsistencies, the inter-relationship between the passages has also been pointed out. For example, Alex Cheung identifies analogous thoughts in the two sections in question.⁸⁸⁰ He observes that the juxtaposition of the 'fellowship with God/Christ' and 'that with demons' in the discussion of idol worship (10:14-22) can already be seen in the earlier discussion of food offered to idols. In 8:4-6, Paul contrasts one God with 'many gods and many lords' in the course of discussing the 'idol food', which implies a severe attitude towards food offered to idols. Regarding the same passage, Richard Hays further explains that the purported

⁸⁷⁷ The meaning of μάρκελλον can be either meat-market or provision-market where flesh, fish, and vegetables were sold (cf. Lat. *macellum*): *A Latin dictionary* (founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary; New ed.; revised, enlarged and in great part rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). The following commentaries provide an overview of the meaning of the word: e.g. whether μάρκελλον is related to Latin *macellum* or not, and regarding the question of the actual situation of the market in Corinth. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, pp. 782-3. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 399. Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, p. 176, n. 12.

⁸⁷⁸ Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, p. 137. Cf. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 92.

⁸⁷⁹ Exod. 32:6 (1 Cor. 10:7).

⁸⁸⁰ Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 92.

confessional statement, ‘for us, there is one God, the Father...’ (8:6), is significant in the sense that it invokes the Shema (Deut. 6:4).⁸⁸¹ According to Hays, Paul refers to the statement in order to establish a firm ground of monotheistic affirmation among the Corinthians. This is to teach them the importance of declaring unity with and loyalty to one God. Further, the ‘echo of the Shema’ evokes in them an ethos of a ‘jealous God’ who will not tolerate anything to do with idols. Thus, just as Paul ironically concludes the issue of idol worship by asking ‘are we making the Lord jealous?’ (10:22), Paul already has in mind the same sense in 8:6 when he discusses the issue of food offered to idols.

These connections between the texts, for example, may strengthen the legitimacy of the integrity of 8:1-11:1. In order to make sense of the problem without introducing the understanding of non-integrity, such as ‘partition theories’,⁸⁸² the three main interpretations that have been proposed are set out below.⁸⁸³

1) Paul agrees with the ‘strong’ regarding the non-existence of idols; however, he admonishes them to consider the ‘weak’ who might stumble because of their attitude to eating ‘idol food’. Thus, Paul conditionally permits participation in temple meals since the criterion depends solely upon the danger to other believers (e.g. Barrett, Fisk).⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁸¹ Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Interpretation; Louisville, Ky.: John Knox Press, 1997), pp. 139-140.

⁸⁸² For partition theories, Thiselton offers an overview of scholarly opinions, including those of Héring, Jewett, Schmithals, Sellin, Weiss, and Yeo (Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 610).

Jean Héring, *First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (London: Epworth, 1962), pp. xii-xiv; R. Jewett, ‘The Redaction of 1 Cor and the Trajectory of the Pauline School’, *JAARSup* 46 (1978), pp. 398-444; W. Schmithals, ‘Die Korintherbriefe als Briefsammlung’, *ZNW* 64 (1973), pp. 263-88; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), pp. 87-113; G. Sellin, ‘Hauptprobleme des ersten Korintherbriefes,’ *ANRW*, II.25.4 (1987), pp. 2964-86; Kkiok-Khing Yeo, *Rhetorical Interaction in 1 Cor 8 and 10: A Formal Analysis with Preliminary Suggestions for a Chinese Cross-Cultural Hermeneutic* (Biblical Interpretation Series 9; Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 84-93; Johannes Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925), pp. xi-xliii.

On the integrity of 1 Cor. 8:1-11:1, see for example: Hurd, *Origins*, pp. 131-42.

⁸⁸³ Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 332.

⁸⁸⁴ Fisk, ‘Eating Meat’, p. 68-70; Barrett, ‘Things Sacrificed’, p. 147.

2) Paul intends to persuade the ‘strong’ to abstain completely from any kind of food that has at any time been related to idols since it is inherently idolatrous (e.g. Cheung, Gooch, Fee, Witherington).⁸⁸⁵

3) Paul aims to persuade the ‘strong’ to adopt his policy of not exercising their right to eat ‘idol food’ (although they have an authentic right), and to prohibit participation in idolatrous temple dining (E. Coye Still, III proposes this view;⁸⁸⁶ Fitzmyer generally affirms this interpretation).⁸⁸⁷

The three interpretations will be explained further with a closer look at the text below. The key aspect which will be discussed is the question as to whether Paul considered that the ‘strong’ had the ‘right’ to consume food offered to idols and to participate in temple meals.

It is first important to note that Paul writes about the ‘right’ of the ‘strong’;⁸⁸⁸ in 8:9 he warns them that their right (ἐξουσία) should not become a stumbling block to the ‘weak’. There is no indication in the texts that the word, ἐξουσία, is used ironically, or any sign suggesting that the ‘strong’ are incorrect in assuming that they have the ‘right’ to consume the food offered to idols.⁸⁸⁹ Further, in 9:1-27, Paul writes about his right as an apostle and the relinquishment of his right. Given that 9:1-27 is intended to show an analogy to the ‘strong’ of the forgoing of their ‘right’, the most likely premise is that Paul *acknowledges* the ‘right’ of the strong. If the consumption of food offered

⁸⁸⁵ Cheung and Gooch are of the opinion that Paul intends to prohibit (i.e. the ‘strong’ do not have the right of) consuming food that had been offered to idols in *any settings*. On the other hand, Fee and Witherington consider that the context of εἰδωλόθυτα is primarily the occasion for consuming an animal sacrificed within the temple precincts. Thus, they maintain that such behaviour is akin to having fellowship with demons and must be prohibited. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 296; Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, p. 86; Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 359; Witherington, ‘Not So Idle’, p. 240; Cf. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, pp. 334-5.

⁸⁸⁶ To be precise, Still considers that there are two kinds of temple meals: one is theologically acceptable (i.e. not inherently sinful) but the ‘strong’ must *abstain* from participation lest their action become sinfully destructive to the ‘weak’; the other is theologically unacceptable because they are idolatrous, and Paul therefore *prohibits* participation in this kind of temple meal. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 342.

⁸⁸⁷ Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 332.

⁸⁸⁸ Cf. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 335.

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. David Horrell, who states: ‘There is no hint in ch. 8 that the ἐξουσία of the strong is anything other than legitimate.’ David Horrell, ‘Theological Principle or Christological Praxis? Pauline Ethics in 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1’, *JSNT* 67 (1997), p. 90. Cf. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 335.

to idols were inherently idolatrous, Paul would possibly have used much stronger words of condemnation or stronger analogies, as he does in 10:1-22 regarding idol worship. However, one other possibility is that Paul may in fact have considered that any food that has at any time been related to idols is inherently idolatrous without exception; thus, Paul intends to prohibit the ‘strong’ from consuming ‘idol food’ (i.e. Paul does not affirm their authentic ‘right’); but, because they have already been so accustomed to the habit of the consumption of food that had been offered to idols, Paul, in 1 Corinthians 8-9, carefully persuades them by writing that they must *abstain* from eating without explicitly stating that they are wrong, as a prelude to discussing the problem of idol worship.⁸⁹⁰ This view, however, involves some speculation about what is behind the text.

The first interpretation, which is often referred to as the traditional view,⁸⁹¹ considers that Paul agrees with the ‘strong’ that they have the right to eat food offered to idols. Paul not only agrees with their right, but *permits* the consumption of ‘idol food’, with a condition: that is, they must take care that their right (ἐξουσία) would not cause the ‘weak’ to stumble (8:9). In other words, the ‘strong’ are allowed to eat food offered to idols insofar as they do not put other believers at risk. However, most of the commentators who challenge the traditional view (i.e. those who hold with the second and third interpretations) disagree with the inference of *permission* from the passage: although Paul does write about the condition, as Chuck Lowe states, ‘quite simply, a conditional prohibition does not necessarily constitute a permission where conditions are not in force’.⁸⁹² Similarly, 8:8b can also be a watershed in the same sense; the verse ‘we are no worse off if we do not eat, and no better off if we do’ can be understood as taking sides with the ‘strong’, and the text can be understood as saying ‘it is meaningless to persist in not eating the food because food is irrelevant’, in order to justify the position of the ‘strong’. However, in light of the context of relinquishment of one’s right, the text can be read as if it is directed to the ‘strong’: ‘you will not lose anything before God by giving up your right; you

⁸⁹⁰ Scholars who disagree with the view that Paul affirms the right of the ‘strong’ (i.e. those who maintain the second interpretation) explain the reason for the discrepancy between Paul’s ‘true’ view and the actual text by stating, for example, that the passage is his rhetoric of persuasion. Cf. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 134.

⁸⁹¹ E.g. Cheung, *Idol Food*, pp. 87-97. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, pp. 341-2.

⁸⁹² Still refers to Lowe: Chuck Lowe, *Cult and Culture: A Christian Response to Idol Food in Chinese Popular Religion* (Unpublished manuscript), p. 282; cf. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 338. Cheung also sees the inference of ‘permission’ from the text as a non sequitur. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 96.

are not gaining anything before God by exercising your right.’⁸⁹³ The nuance is, then, that Paul is persuading the ‘strong’ to give up their right. Thus, the traditional view that Paul permitted the consumption of food offered to idols (the first interpretation) is not self-evident from the text.

The view that Paul permits the believers to consume food offered to idols is often strengthened by other passages regarding his liberal view towards the Jewish food laws.⁸⁹⁴ This issue is often discussed in relation to Romans 14, which serves to maintain a distinction between the issue of ‘idol food’ and that of idol worship. In Romans 14, Paul explains his view on the problem of unclean food, and makes the point that everything is clean but one must not make others fall by one’s act of eating (14:20). Indeed, there are striking similarities with the issue of ‘idol food’, such as the presence of those whom Paul calls the ‘weak’ and his principle of not ruining (ἀπόλλυμι) them for whom Christ died (1 Cor. 8:11 and Rm. 14:15). Thus, if Romans 14 is taken into account, it suggests that the Corinthians are *allowed to* consume ‘idol food’ provided that they would not cause others to stumble. However, this interpretation is considered to be misleading since it ignores the context; as James Dunn explains, the context of Romans 14 is of the relationships between Jewish and pagan Christ-followers, which is an internal issue. On the other hand, the context of 1 Corinthians 8-10 is that of relationships with outsiders: i.e. a boundary-crossing issue.⁸⁹⁵ It is clear that the text in question discusses the relationship of the believers in Corinth with the pagan custom. Thus, the issue of ‘idol food’ is not a question of Jewish food law, but a question of crossing the limits as believers.

Before discussing the question in light of the actual cultic situation in Roman Corinth, it may be helpful at this point to summarize the differences and common ground among the three interpretations. The first interpretation, the so-called traditional interpretation, is characterized by its view that it *permits* the consumption of ‘idol food’, including attendance at temple meals, insofar as it does not scandalize the ‘weak’. On the other hand, the second interpretation, which opposes this view, is that Paul *prohibits* any consumption of ‘idol food’ regardless of its venue, including attendance at

⁸⁹³ Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 337.

⁸⁹⁴ Barrett states that this attitude of Paul is an ‘extraordinary liberalism’ when considered from the Jewish perspective, and discusses the issue in relation to the so-called Apostolic Decree (cf. Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25). Barrett, ‘Things Sacrificed’, p. 147.

⁸⁹⁵ James G.D. Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), p. 703.

temple meals, since they are inherently idolatrous. The third interpretation is more nuanced than the other two, especially in terms of its reasons behind non-consumption of ‘idol food’ and non-participation in temple meals.

The common ground shared by the first and the third interpretation is that both are understood to say that Paul acknowledges the ‘right’ of the ‘strong’ to consume ‘idol food’ and to participate in temple meals. This is supported by the fact that Paul mentions their ‘right’ (8:9) without explicitly denying it, and also explains his relinquishment of his apostolic rights in Chapter 9. However, the difference is clear: the first interpretation is that Paul *permits* the conditional use of their ‘right’, while the third interpretation is that Paul persuades them to forgo their ‘right’ (i.e. voluntary *abstinence*).⁸⁹⁶

On the other hand, the difference between the second and the third interpretation concerns Paul’s views on the ‘right’ of the ‘strong’ regarding food offered to idols and temple meals: the second interpretation is that food offered to idols and temple meals are essentially idolatrous; thus, the ‘strong’ do not have a ‘right’ in these matters and the consumption and the participation must be *prohibited*. A challenge to this view is that the claim that the ‘strong’ have no ‘right’ ‘does not square with the text’.⁸⁹⁷ If taking the literal meaning of the text, as those who support the third interpretation argue, Paul considers that the ‘strong’ have the ‘right’ to consume ‘idol food’ and participate in some temple meals,⁸⁹⁸ the ‘strong’, however, must voluntarily relinquish their right for the sake of the ‘weak’ believers. Thus, the difference between the second and the third interpretation is characterized by *prohibition* and *voluntary abstinence*. Therefore, if the ‘strong’ adhere to Paul, their response in both cases (the second and the third interpretation) would be the same, but would be based on different reasons.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁶ As mentioned above, the third interpretation Still proposes has two categories of temple meal: there are *some* temple meals that are inherently sinful, while *not all* the temple meals are idolatrous, and the ‘strong’ in fact have the ‘right’ to attend the latter kind of temple meal (however, Paul’s intention is to persuade them not to use their ‘right’). Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 342.

⁸⁹⁷ Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 335. One of the explanations for this challenge is that Paul is using a rhetoric of persuasion in order to stop their deeply accustomed habit, as explained above.

⁸⁹⁸ Again, strictly, Still considers that *some* temple meals are idolatrous. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 342. This point will be discussed below in the summary of section 6.1.

⁸⁹⁹ The third interpretation is then to consider that Paul did not intend to establish a law regarding ‘idol food’, but asked for their spontaneous response according to their will, as Still explains: ‘The concern is not the

6.1.2 Temple meals in Corinth

Having overviewed the major interpretations based on the text, the study will turn to the social aspect of the problem. The question that has often been raised concerns the nature of temple meals. It has been argued that temple dining was not necessarily related to the cult itself, since meals at the temple in the Greco-Roman world had diverse functions: for example, as some scholars have commented, as a ‘restaurant in antiquity’.⁹⁰⁰ The question that is often being asked, therefore, is whether the purpose of this practice was primarily social rather than religious. Wendell L. Willis, for example, comments: ‘It was probably not regarded as pagan worship to participate in the various ‘socials’ held in temple precincts.’⁹⁰¹ Fisk also states, ‘Paul did NOT view those dining in the temple as morally culpable (unless they scandalized someone else).’⁹⁰²

Indeed, the evidence of papyri from Oxyrhynchus, on which scholars primarily rely, show invitations to the meal at the temple, suggesting that there were occasions when temples were used for private purposes, such as meals for birthdays and weddings.⁹⁰³ As Willis focuses in his study on the determination of the situation of temple meals, by investigating whether temple meals for social purposes were different from sacrificial feasts with rituals that had strong cultic character,⁹⁰⁴ it may be possible to argue that Paul made the purported distinction between eating in a pagan temple (8:10)

attempt to secure salvation by the works of the Law, but the knowers’ role in the salvation of other believers.’ Cf. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, pp. 338-9, no. 21.

⁹⁰⁰ Fee refers to Ehrhardt, who argues that eating at the pagan temple ‘was the basic “restaurant” in antiquity’. Ehrhardt, Arnold, *The Framework of the New Testament Stories* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1964), p. 279; cf. Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 361. Thiselton refers to Gardner, who corrects an over-narrow understanding. Gardner, *Gifts of God*, p. 18; cf. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 619.

⁹⁰¹ Willis, *Idol Meat*, p. 63. Cf. Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 335.

⁹⁰² Fisk, ‘Eating Meat’, p. 62.

⁹⁰³ *P. Oxy.* I, 110: an invitation to a dinner ‘at the table of the lord Sarapis’ in the Serapaeum; G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* I, (North Ryde, NSW: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981), p. 5-9; cf. Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 361, n. 14; Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 128. For other evidence from Oxyrhynchus: *P. Oxy.* 2791: an invitation to the first birthday dinner of a daughter of the host celebrated at the Serapaeum; *P. Oxy.* 1485: an invitation to dine with the host at the temple of Demeter; *P. Oxy.* 523: an invitation letter to a dinner ‘at the table of the lord Sarapis’ in the house of Claudius Sarapion (note that the venue is apparently a private house and not in a temple for this invitation); *P. Oxy.* 1484: an invitation to celebrate ‘the approaching coming of age of his brothers’ ‘at the table of the lord Sarapis’ at the temple of Thoris. Cited in: Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 336, nos. 10-12.

⁹⁰⁴ Willis, *Idol Meat*, pp. 47-56.

and participating at the table of demons (10:21). However, it seems difficult to assume that one can make an objective distinction between the ‘religious’ and the ‘secular’; as Cheung argues, ‘where is one to draw the line beyond which eating becomes idolatry?’⁹⁰⁵ He is of the opinion that such meals were perceived by most of the believers and Paul as idolatrous.⁹⁰⁶

Still, the proposer of the third interpretation, also considers that there were temple meals which were secular in nature and which were regarded by Paul as harmless. However, he carefully comments that this view is based on *a priori* grounds, that a) ‘Paul would have condemned without delay or ambiguity what he considered inherently idolatrous’ (but did not do so), and that b) the evidence from Oxyrhynchus ‘complements’ this view.⁹⁰⁷ Thus, it appears that Still acknowledges that there is a strong need to take into account the context of Roman Corinth in order to confirm this point.

It is therefore crucial to discuss the question of temple meals in relation to the actual cultic situation in Roman Corinth, which is expected to offer a more concrete picture of the temples that Paul might have had in mind. As discussed above, local cults were resurrected by the Romans in Roman style. Among the four cults with clear evidence of reestablishment,⁹⁰⁸ the most commonly discussed cults in which people might have had feasts are the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, and the temple of Asclepius.⁹⁰⁹ The main argument regarding the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is whether there had been a practice of major dining activities during the time of Paul, since it is said that there was a break in temple dining during the Roman period.⁹¹⁰ In the case of the cult of Asclepius, the

⁹⁰⁵ Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 94.

⁹⁰⁶ Cheung, *Idol Food*, pp. 38 and 93.

⁹⁰⁷ Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 335-6. Still seems to acknowledge that one must weigh the religious context in first century Corinth. Still, p. 336, n. 13.

⁹⁰⁸ See 2.3.2 for details.

⁹⁰⁹ E.g. Willis, *Idol Meat*, p. 5, p. 103, n. 159. Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, p. 15-26. Although Koester does not explain the question of Greek cults thoroughly, the photograph of the excavated site of the dining facility at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore gives an impression that the location was one of the most likely sites for the temple meal. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol. 2, (New York: de Gruyter, 1982), p. 123.

⁹¹⁰ Winter refers to the study by R.S. Stroud: R.S. Stroud, ‘The Sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth in the Roman Period’, in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (ed. T.E. Gregory; JRASup 8; Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1993), p. 69; Bruce Winter, *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1994), p. 170.

archaeological evidence shows that the cult was worshipped by the people during the mid first century CE.⁹¹¹ The focus of the question is on the resort of Lerna, which had been connected to the precinct of the cult, and whether it was still accessible from the sanctuary to the resort of Lerna where there was a major dining facility during the Roman era, and on whether Lerna was still accessible from the sanctuary.⁹¹² Bruce Winter, for example, denies the possibility that Paul was referring to either cult in 1 Cor. 8:10 on the basis of the archaeological evidence (which will be discussed below).⁹¹³ He, on the other hand, stresses the feasts at the Isthmian games as the background of the passage; according to Winter, who relies on the study of inscriptions reported by Kent,⁹¹⁴ argues that the games were returned to the original location of the Isthmus in 51 CE, when Lucius Castriscus Regulus held the presidency of the games.⁹¹⁵ Indeed, the archaeological evidence from the sanctuary at the Isthmus studied first by Oscar Broneer and later by Elizabeth R. Gebhard includes the deposits of sacrificial material, such as 13.5 kilograms of burnt cattle bones in a pit.⁹¹⁶ Many hand-held lamps that were excavated around the area allow the scene of worshippers gathered at the site to be reconstructed.⁹¹⁷ However, Gebhard corrects what has been ‘imagined’ by Broneer regarding the date of the restoration of the Isthmian sanctuary.⁹¹⁸ From pottery and stratigraphy, she concludes that the restoration of the sanctuary at the Isthmus occurred not during the Augustan to Claudian period, but after the reign of Nero, i.e. 54 CE. The evidence of pottery indeed showed a range from the Classical period to 60-80 CE, but ‘what is remarkable is the lack of an appreciable number of sherds from the period of

⁹¹¹ See Chapter 4 (esp. 4.1.1) for details.

⁹¹² E.g. Gooch, *Dangerous Food*, pp. 16-7. It has been reported that the path to the resort of Lerna was cut off after the Roman restoration. Roebuck, *Asklepieion*, p. 156.

⁹¹³ Winter, *Seek*, pp. 171-4.

⁹¹⁴ Kent, *Inscriptions*, p. 70, no. 153.

⁹¹⁵ i.e. *agonothetes*

⁹¹⁶ From the Palaimonion Pit A. Elizabeth R. Gebhard, ‘The Isthmian Games and the sanctuary of Poseidon in the early empire’, in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (ed. T.E. Gregory; JRA Sup 8; Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1993), pp. 78-94 (85).

⁹¹⁷ Gebhard, ‘Isthmian Games’, p. 85.

⁹¹⁸ Gebhard, ‘Isthmian Games’, p. 79.

Augustus or succeeding emperors until the reign of Nero'.⁹¹⁹ She further comments that the presidency of *agonothetes* does not necessarily suggest that the venue of the games was at the Isthmus, since the festivals and contests could have taken place in the city of Corinth before their move back to the original place.⁹²⁰ Given that this historical reconstruction is correct, and that the visit of Paul to Corinth was during 50-51 CE⁹²¹, it is difficult to argue, as in Winter's discussion, that Paul would have seen this particular banquet at the Isthmus.⁹²² Nonetheless, Winter's point that Roman citizens in Corinth had a 'right' to attend such civic banquets celebrated at the games must be taken into consideration. Although the precise evidence of the venue may not be certain, the civic feasts associated with the games, whether Isthmian or Caesarean contests, were certainly held within the city from the early stage of Roman colonization to the reign of Nero.⁹²³

Having discussed the question of the possible cults for temple meals in Corinth, it is still necessary to articulate the *relationship* between the imperial cult and other pagan cults, since stressing the aspect of the imperial cult may lead to a risk of disregarding the role of local cults as if they carried less significance in the actual social context. For example, Chow, on the issue of 'idol food', acknowledges that it is difficult to specify the exact celebration in which the Corinthians participated as there were many; thus, he legitimately aims to focus on the imperial cult as an *illustrative* example of the many.⁹²⁴ His study demonstrates the significance of the imperial cult as a central source of patronage, but he does not seem to explore its *relationship* with other pagan cults in Corinth. On the

⁹¹⁹ Gebhard, 'Isthmian Games', p. 82.

⁹²⁰ Gebhard, 'Isthmian Games', p. 79.

⁹²¹ The years are based on: Acts 18 (esp. vv.12-17), which suggests that Paul had stayed in Corinth for eighteen months before Gallio was appointed as the provincial proconsul (in the summer of 51 CE); the Gallio Inscription (SIG 801D), and Sen., *Ep.*, 104.

However, one cannot deny the possibility that Paul could have *heard* of the event, possibly started by the order of Nero, when he wrote 1 Corinthians in Ephesus several years after his visit to Corinth.

⁹²² Winter, *Seek*, p. 172. Although Winter acknowledges the study by Gebhard, Winter does not seem to consider the point Gebhard makes, that the archaeological evidence has caused the shift in the date to the later period from that proposed by Broneer.

⁹²³ Gebhard, 'Isthmian Games', pp. 79 and 94. For the years in which the games were held, see 2.2.2 (esp. under the subheading of 'Services for non-residents').

⁹²⁴ Chow, *Patronage*, pp. 146-7.

other hand, Winter does explore the situation of Greek cults as mentioned above; however, his judgment in ruling out the possibility that they were involved in temple dining in Corinth seems less thorough than his treatment of the evidence of the imperial cult. He refers to the evidence from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore reported by R.S. Strout: the sanctuary is known for its extensive dining facility, but, according to Strout, ritual dining during the Roman period was held outdoors on a smaller scale than when it had been celebrated indoors during the Greek period.⁹²⁵ Winter concludes primarily from this point that the sanctuary cannot be the venue of 1 Cor. 8:10 since he weighs the literal meaning of κατὰκειμαι: ‘sitting’ in the temple in the passage.⁹²⁶ On the cult of Asclepius, he assumes that eating at the temple was for the purpose of individual healing and that it was open to people without any ‘rights’.⁹²⁷ It appears from his account that he understands the cult of Asclepius as a rather primitive form of cult where the activity was confined to the cure of individuals. The characteristics of the cult were indeed such as these during the classical Greek period; however, by the time the Romans restored the cult, the cult had developed, and possessed a more sophisticated social function which the Romans utilized.⁹²⁸ The important point regarding the Roman policy over Greek cults in Corinth is that, since the Romans once destroyed the city significantly (although Greek culture possibly continued in a smaller scale), they rebuilt the city according to their own careful plan, including the Greek sanctuaries; the temple of Apollo at the north of the Forum, the temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth, the temple of Asclepius, and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore are the four known to have been revived by the Romans, and the Romans made no attempt to preserve the original plan, especially of the temple of Apollo and the temple of Aphrodite.⁹²⁹ Furthermore,

⁹²⁵ Winter relies on the comment made by Stroud: Stroud, ‘Sanctuary of Demeter’, p. 69.

⁹²⁶ Winter, *Seek*, p. 170.

⁹²⁷ Winter refers to the inscription from Epidaurus for the primary source (*IG* IV.1(2) 126 ll. 5ff.).

⁹²⁸ See 4.1.1 for details.

⁹²⁹ See 2.3.2 for details. Cf. C.M. Thomas, ‘Greek Heritage in Roman Corinth and Ephesos: Hybrid Identities and Strategies of Display in the Material Record of Traditional Mediterranean Religions’, in *Corinth in Context*, p. 123.

through this ‘renewal’, the Greek cults were revived as a part of Roman civic religion.⁹³⁰ Thus, if there were occasions for temple feasts in one of the sanctuaries of the Greek cults, it is most likely that the emperor was honoured and worshipped at the same time.⁹³¹ These occasions were designed to draw people into the imperial cult through these revived local cults. In this sense, to describe that the cultic situation in Corinth ‘did not differ much from that of ancient Athens described by Luke in Acts 17’,⁹³² or to refer to ‘the fact of religious pluralism in Roman Corinth’,⁹³³ may be misleading.

Although it has been claimed that temples in antiquity were used for private occasions, the primary use of the temple was indeed the worship of the deity, which involved sacrifice and feasting. It is important to understand the significance of the procedure, from sacrifice to the point at which meat was distributed to the people, among the daily lives of the populace. The act of killing the animal was followed by the cooking of meat which was a part of the offertory to the deity. After the sacrificial ritual, a portion of the meat was taken by the priests, and the rest was either consumed by the worshippers as a celebration within the precinct, or was taken outside the sanctuary to the rest of the populace.⁹³⁴ These occasions of sacrificial feasts were possibly the highlights of the year for the people. They were not a routine custom; as Liebeschuetz states, the emotional impact associated with the solemn moments in the act of killing during the sacrificial rite cannot be underestimated, and the rite also created a sense of group solidarity among the people.⁹³⁵ Furthermore, these cultic festivals did not take place randomly, but were most likely to have been scheduled by the Romans. In the colony of Urso, the celebration of local cults required authorization and was planned according to the

⁹³⁰ See 2.3.2 for details. Bookidis considers that the restored Greek cults became a part of Roman civic religion. Bookidis, ‘Religion in Corinth’, p. 163.

⁹³¹ See 4.2 for the relationship between the Roman emperor and Asclepius.

⁹³² Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 331.

⁹³³ Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 27.

⁹³⁴ In a mime of Herodas, the scene at the cult of Asklepieion demonstrates that the rest of the sacrificed meat (a rooster) is taken home (Herod., 4.19). Although this is a case of an individual sacrificial act at the temple, it indicates that people were allowed to take the sacred food outside the precinct. Cf. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 32.

⁹³⁵ J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 80.

calendar of the Roman authorities,⁹³⁶ and there is no reason to consider that the Romans took less care in Corinth, where they revived the cults as a part of their civic religion.

As has been discussed above, local cults in Corinth were controlled by the Roman authorities. Major cultic festivals were occasions for the populace to eat meat as well as to experience religious moments, which were connected to the imperial cult. Within this context, it is most plausible to consider that dining at a pagan temple in Corinth was unlike that in non-colonial areas where local people associated ‘naturally’ with their cult in their daily lives. The nature of the imperial cult was *intentional* to the extent that it incorporated local cults as a part of Roman civic religion in order to rule the people from a religious perspective. Thus, even at the private meals at the temples of local cults, the occasions to eat within the sanctuary evoked in them a sense of cultic experience, possibly intended by the Romans through their new design of the temples. What the social reality of pagan cults in Corinth shows, therefore, refutes the secular view on temple meals.

In addition, Still is of the opinion that there were two kinds of temple meals:⁹³⁷ those that were inherently idolatrous and those that were theologically acceptable (although people must voluntarily abstain from participation). The former are seen as ‘religious’ and the latter as ‘secular’. However, as far as the context of Corinth is concerned, the local cults and their activities were deeply associated with the imperial cult and controlled by the Romans. They were no longer the traditional local cults which people had worshipped since the classical Greek past, but were remodelled as a part of Roman religion. This *intentionality* of the Romans was demonstrated not only in the exterior of the buildings, but possibly more so in the core element of cultic acts which were designed to rule the mindset of the people. Therefore, it is most unlikely that Paul deemed some temple meals to be ‘harmless’ in Roman Corinth.

⁹³⁶ According to the statute for the colony of Urso (*lex coloniae genitivae*), *duoviri* and *decuriones* had the authority over the festivals and the celebration of sacrifices of the local cults. Their permission was required, and the financial transactions involved were to be reported. See also Chapter 4. Cf. Bookidis, ‘Religion in Corinth’, p. 152. Bookidis refers to M. H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (ed. M. H. Crawford; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996), 1:393-4554, no. 25.

⁹³⁷ Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 342.

6.1.3 Private meals at homes

Finally, the social aspect of private meals in ancient society also needs to be mentioned, since religious rites were performed not only in socially significant festivals but also in private homes. For example, Horace, in the first century BCE, describes in his *Satire* that people would share a meal and play drinking games while Ceres received their prayers and ‘she would rise high on the stalk, [which] allowed the wine to smooth away our worried wrinkles’.⁹³⁸ He also writes, ‘what heaven! My friends and I have our own meal at my fireside. Then, after making an offering, I hand the rest to the cheeky servants.’⁹³⁹ According to these descriptions, meals at homes with friends involved cultic aspects. Similarly, Plutarch states at the beginning of the second century CE that most dinners were ‘portion-banquets, and each man at the sacrifices was allotted his share of the meal’.⁹⁴⁰ Animal sacrifices appear to have been an essential part of every dinner. Indeed, the literary evidence above only shows the custom of the elites; however, it is also true that the servants of these elites, such as those depicted in *Satire*, and possibly also the clients of the elites, did eat the sacrificed meat after there had been a social gathering. Thus, the following comment made by MacMullen may not be an exaggeration: ‘for most people, to have a good time with their friends involved some contact with a god’; and, in formal social life, there was no sphere that was entirely secular.⁹⁴¹ In other words, social meals were mostly connected to particular deities. In addition, it is also worth noting that, as Cheung points out, given that private meals mostly involved cultic practice, it is questionable to assume that the occasions for temple meals were more secular.⁹⁴²

When turning to the passage (10:23-11:1) where Paul discusses the question of social meals and food sold at a market,⁹⁴³ he places the believers under no obligation to investigate the history of

⁹³⁸ *Sat.*, 2.2, lines 115-25. Cf. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 34.

⁹³⁹ *Sat.*, 2.6, lines 65-66. Cf. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 34.

⁹⁴⁰ *Quaes Conv.*, 642F. Cf. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 34.

⁹⁴¹ R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 40. Cf. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 27.

⁹⁴² Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 93.

⁹⁴³ Or ‘meat-market’. See 6.1.1 (footnote) for the meaning of μάρκελλον.

the food. His comment, that *if* someone tells the believer that the food had been offered to an idol (τοῦτο ἱερόθυτόν ἐστιν⁹⁴⁴) the believer must abstain from eating (10:28), may imply that the believers do not necessarily need to investigate actively the source of the food. Although this is structurally another ‘conditional prohibition’ as in 8:7-13, there are two clear differences: one is that he does not use the word εἰδωλόθυτα (‘food offered to idols’), but writes πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον (lit. ‘everything sold in a market’) (10:25) or πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν (lit. ‘everything set before you’) (10:27), which suggests that he is making a clear distinction from the previous argument in terms of their settings; and another is that Paul in these cases clearly counsels *to eat* (imperative) without questioning on the ground of conscience anything sold in the market and anything served at a meal provided by an unbeliever. He further offers a theological reason for the act of eating by referring to the LXX of Psalm 24:1, ‘the earth and its fullness are the Lord’s’ (v. 26). Scholars consider that these cases are not necessarily linked to idolatry since the word εἰδωλόθυτα is conspicuous by its absence.⁹⁴⁵ Further, the ‘if’ clause (v. 28) is introduced ‘parenthetically’ as a ‘hypothetical case’⁹⁴⁶ in opposition to the above ‘eat whatever...’ statements (v. 25 and 27). Thus, the intention of Paul in this passage is to highlight the two situations that do not relate to εἰδωλόθυτα which he needed to explain, and as an important addition, he states the principle that one should not cause other believers to stumble (cf. v. 28). It is considered that Paul referred to these cases since they were important for the Corinthians in practice, in light of the difficulties of avoiding any contacts with cults in social life in antiquity, as mentioned above.

Another important aspect of meals was the reality of the social relations in which people lived. Occasions for social meals were mostly to do with their status since people lived in a status-conscious society. There was a constant desire for honour behind the act of holding social meals and inviting people to the meals, since one’s social status was defined by those with whom you ate. As in the

⁹⁴⁴ The term ἱερόθυτόν suggests non-Jewish Greek-speaking person. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 401. Textual variants of this verse shows εἰδωλόθυτα in the manuscripts from the fifth and ninth centuries (C, D, F, G, Ψ), possibly due to the harmonization of copyists with other passages.

⁹⁴⁵ E.g. Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 95.

⁹⁴⁶ Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 401.

proverbial phrase of Epicurus, ‘you must reflect carefully beforehand with whom you are to eat and drink’,⁹⁴⁷ people only invited those of socially equal or of higher position. Social meals were important occasions for the people to have their status acknowledged by others and to seek for advancement by obtaining honour. Sponsoring a great feast was thus certainly an important means for this purpose. On the other hand, to decline an invitation was to earn ‘hostility and ridicule’, as Seneca described,⁹⁴⁸ and would be likely to lead eventually to isolation from society. Thus, in a society where meals played a central part of social relations defined by honour and status, the consequence of refusing to attend social meals was inevitably immeasurable.⁹⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that Paul in 1 Corinthians 5 writes that one must not eat with those who are ‘sexually immoral or greedy’, or with someone who is ‘an idolater, reviler, drunkard, or robber’ (5:11); however, the context of the passage is that he is making corrections regarding the understanding of his previous letter, that this prohibition and condemnation only apply to those immoral persons who are Christ-followers, and not to the unbelievers. He further states that he did not mean disengagement from others in society since one ‘would then need to go out of the world’ (5:10). This comment suggests that Paul admits at least some associations with unbelievers rather than being completely isolated from society.⁹⁵⁰ Further, there is no clear indication of prohibition in 10:27, where Paul refers to an occasion for receiving an invitation from an unbeliever: ‘and if you are disposed to go, eat whatever is set before you.’ The reason behind this non-prohibition of attending such meals may be due to the practicality of the situation, given that it was effectively impossible to find a social meal that was *not* connected to any cults in ancient society.

In addition, it may also be worth considering the setting of social meals from the point of view of the difference between the imperial cult and other pagan cults. If the head of the family were from a non-Roman cultural background, the family would honour and worship their traditional deities in occasions for family or social meals. From the viewpoint of the subjects of the Roman colony,

⁹⁴⁷ The saying is quoted in Sen., *Ep.*, 19. Cf. Finney, *Honour and Conflict*, p. 153.

⁹⁴⁸ Sen., *Ep.*, 5.3-4. Cf. Finney, *Honour and Conflict*, p. 152.

⁹⁴⁹ Finney, *Honour and Conflict*, pp. 151-4, 162-6.

⁹⁵⁰ It may also be that Paul has a missionary reason behind the association with unbelievers.

private meals at homes were a safer space where people had less contact with the imperial cult than in the public sphere. The situation was most likely to be different when the Roman elites were within the social circle, but there was less intervention in private space compared to the intrusion of the imperial cult into Greek sanctuaries. In this sense, there might have been a difference in the views Paul held on traditional pagan cults and on the newly developed imperial cult which involved deification of human beings.⁹⁵¹ If there were any differences in Paul's advice, he would have given a lesser degree of warning to attending social meals at non-Roman homes, for the reason above. It is difficult to know the differences with certainty at this point, but regardless of the differences, even on private occasions, when purchasing food at the market and at meals being provided by an unbeliever, they must voluntarily abstain from eating (i.e. forgo their 'right') if the believers were told that the food had been offered to an idol, not because the food *per se* is idolatrous (cf. v. 26), but lest their behaviour should have a destructive effect on other believers.

Overall, the preceding discussions in this section explain the reasons behind Paul's counsel. If the Corinthians adhered to his letter, because of either voluntary abstinence or prohibition, the practical result is that the 'strong' would stop consuming food offered to idols and participating in temple meals. This understanding is contrary to the so-called traditional interpretation that sees eating food offered to idols as receiving conditional *permission*, which would inevitably be required to account for the inconsistency with Paul's polemical argument regarding idol worship, as in his comment: 'they sacrifice'⁹⁵² to demons' (10:20). However, the discussions above that assess the actual context of cults in Corinth confirm the point that the issue of food offered to idols and that of idol worship 'are not mutually exclusive arguments',⁹⁵³ and that Paul is using the two cases in order to make a single point. Another key aspect for understanding the passage is the question of the possession of the 'right' to consume 'idol food'; this study adds a further nuance to the third interpretation which Still maintains. His proposal is: 'Paul's aims are to persuade the Corinthian

⁹⁵¹ It will require a further investigation to confirm this point, and to explain the accurate difference is beyond the scope of this study.

⁹⁵² Or 'to offer'. See the meaning of θύω in 6.1.1.

⁹⁵³ Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 96. Finney, *Honour and Conflict*, p. 165.

knowers to adopt complete non-use of their authentic right to consume food offered to idols and to prohibit participation in idolatrous temple meals.⁹⁵⁴ The point of this twofold statement is voluntary abstinence (i.e. non-use of their ‘right’) and prohibition (i.e. they do not have the ‘right’); in his study, Still explains that some temple meals are not sinful in themselves while others are inherently idolatrous, which is the reason why Still writes in his proposal ‘*idolatrous* temple meals’ rather than simply ‘temple meals’ in the latter clause. Thus, in his opinion, those that are not idolatrous are to be *voluntarily abstained from* rather than *prohibited* because those temple meals are deemed to be secular occasions. However, from the point of view of the situation in Roman Corinth, it has been shown that the Romans utilized the local cults in order to rule the people from religious aspects. Because the nature of the traditional cults was changed drastically by the intrusion of the imperial cult, it appears that it is difficult to rely on the evidence from Oxyrhynchus that sees temple meals as effectively ‘harmless’. What Paul saw in Corinth was the situation where the imperial cult was tactically promoted, even through the revived local cults which were now a part of Roman civic religion. Thus, temple meals in such settings were not the same as the familiar traditional settings of the local cults in the past, but were occasions where the Romans intended to draw the people of the colony into the cult of the emperor. Thus, it is unlikely that Paul considered that there were two categories of temple meals with two different measures to be taken; he is most likely to have prohibited participation in *all* the temple meals. The question of ‘idol food’, therefore, shows Paul’s view towards pagan cults, not in the sense that there was ‘religious pluralism’ in Corinth, but in the sense that the cults were controlled by the Romans. When the situation of the ‘ruled cults’ is taken into account, the meaning of consuming εἰδωλόθυτα in the context of Roman Corinth becomes clearer. This will lead to the question as to why Paul was concerned about those who were in danger of falling back into the pagan cults, which will be discussed in the next section.

⁹⁵⁴ Still, ‘Paul’s Aims’, p. 334.

6.2 The ‘weak’ and the social background of freedpersons

It is generally thought that the ‘weak’ were those who were over-scrupulous about the issue of ‘idol food’. This aspect of the ‘weak’ seems to require further explanation in terms of their background, since their characteristics depend on the social groups from which they came. For example, there have been discussions about whether the ‘weak’ were gentile or Jewish Christ-followers.⁹⁵⁵ The text seems to support both views. One of the critical phrases, τινὲς δὲ τῇ συνηθείᾳ ἕως ἄρτι τοῦ εἰδώλου (8.7b: ‘Since some have become so accustomed to idols until now’), strongly suggests that they were gentile Christ-followers, but its textual variant, showing συνείδησει⁹⁵⁶ instead of συνηθείᾳ, supports the alternative: that is, they were the Jewish Christ-followers who ‘suffered pain’ (or ‘had consciousness’⁹⁵⁷) until now.⁹⁵⁸ Similarly, the verb in 8.7c, μολύνεται (‘[their conscience] is defiled’), seems to suggest the language of the Jewish Christ-followers; on the other hand, τύπτοντες (‘wound [their conscience]’) in 8.12 implies the opposite. While the Jewish-Greek discussion does not seem to be resolved by reference to the text, scholars such as Theissen and Conzelmann are of the opinion that Paul possibly regarded the issue as more general.⁹⁵⁹ Indeed, the Christ-followers included people who were of gentile and Jewish background as well as God-fearers,⁹⁶⁰ and their over-scrupulous nature

⁹⁵⁵ E.g. Theissen offers an overview of opinions: ‘On the basis of 1 Cor. 8:7, the weak are most often identified with gentile Christians.’ Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 141, n. 1. For the view of identifying the ‘weak’ with Jewish Christ-followers, see for example: Leendert Batelaan, *De Sterken en Zwakken in de Kerk van Korinthe* (Wageningen: Zomer en Keuning, 1942), pp. 21-26; M. Coune, ‘Le problème des idolothytes et l’éducation de la syneidêsis’, *RSR* 51 (1963), pp. 497-534. Cf. Theissen, *Social Setting*, pp. 140-1, n. 1.

⁹⁵⁶ The following codices show συνείδησει: **S**² D F G **W** lat sy

⁹⁵⁷ The meaning of συνείδησις has been discussed by scholars. Murphy-O’Connor, for example, sees the word as a kind of pain caused by one’s conscience (Murphy-O’Connor, ‘Freedom or the Ghetto’, pp. 549-550). However, Horsley is of the opinion that the word refers to one’s awareness or consciousness. For example, Horsley comments: ‘From the context and usage here and most other occurrences in Paul, συνείδησις clearly means one’s inner consciousness or awareness, and not “conscience” in the modern sense of the English word.’ R.A. Horsley, ‘Consciousness and Freedom among the Corinthians: 1 Corinthians 8-10’, *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 574-589 (581). Murphy-O’Connor and R. Horsley both refer to C.A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament* (SBT 15; London: SCM Press, 1958), p. 50.

⁹⁵⁸ However, Conzelmann considers that ‘till now’ in 8.7 contradicts its context if one understands the context as Jewish Christ-followers. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 147, n.19.

⁹⁵⁹ Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 123. Conzelmann also comments: ‘The “weak” are neither Jewish Christians nor any closed group at all. They do not represent a position. They are simply weak.’ Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 147.

⁹⁶⁰ Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 124; the fact that circumcision was not required might well be one of the reasons why it was easier for God-fearers to become Christ-followers.

may have depended on the individual rather than on a particular group. Further, there is no clear evidence from the text that suggests that the ‘weak’ were a closed group, or that they were opposed to the ‘strong’, as some scholars argue.⁹⁶¹ They may only have been influenced by the ‘strong’; thus, one may not necessarily need to assume any structural divisions between the two groups among the Corinthians from the passage (8:1-11:1). Cheung (following the view of Hurd) stresses that the argument of the ‘weak’ was ‘a mere hypothetical construction by Paul’⁹⁶² in order to make his point to the ‘strong’ who asserted their knowledge and their right. Nevertheless, since Paul offers some details of the ‘weak’, it is important to reconstruct the possible social situation behind Paul’s concern for the ‘weak’.

The understanding of ἀπόλλυται (‘[the weak brother] is destroyed’: 8:11) is important in this light. Paul deals with the actual consequence that is to be brought about. Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, for example, explains that this is a ‘destructive effect’⁹⁶³ which was caused by the emotional tension; that is, on the one hand, the ‘weak’ detached themselves from any pagan cultic customs, while the liberal edification by the ‘strong’ encouraged them to eat ‘idol food’. This ‘knowledge’ of the ‘strong’ caused in the ‘weak’ a kind of dilemma which had a ‘destructive effect’. To be sure, this sort of stress might have caused severe psychological damage. Nevertheless, the view does not seem to cohere fully with the polemical nature of Paul’s argument in 10:1-22. Conzelmann, for example, is of the opinion that ἀπόλλυται in 8:11 is to be understood as an ‘eternal loss’, since the word is invariably used in Paul’s letters to refer to eternal ruin, and not an internal state.⁹⁶⁴ This would account for the reason why Paul, in 8.10, seems to be impelled to emphasize the danger of their influence by the *ironic* use of οἰκοδομέω. Scholars such as Fee (following the view of Murphy-O’Connor and others)⁹⁶⁵ discuss

⁹⁶¹ Murphy-O’Connor assumes that the ‘weak’ took an ‘aggressive stance’ to the ‘strong’. Murphy-O’Connor, ‘Freedom or the Ghetto’, p. 548.

⁹⁶² Cheung, *Idol Food*, p. 88; Hurd, *Origin*, p. 125.

⁹⁶³ Murphy-O’Connor, ‘Freedom or the Ghetto’, p. 97.

⁹⁶⁴ Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, p. 149, n. 38; cf. Rom. 14:15.

⁹⁶⁵ Murphy-O’Connor refers to Heinrici, Weiss, Robertson-Plummer, Lietzmann, Allo and Barrett for this view: Murphy-O’Connor, ‘Freedom or the Ghetto’, p. 548 (esp. n. 19); Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 386. Fee refers to the interpretation by Godet: ‘He enlightens and strengthens him to his loss! Fine edification!’ (F. Godet,

the reason for such an unusual use of his customary word, and argue that Paul, writing with irony, took up the expression which the ‘strong’ used in their previous letter. Whether or not they were actively edifying the ‘weak’, it seems certain that Paul had in mind people of a particular nature who were affected by the behaviour of the ‘strong’ and were at risk of falling back into the pagan cults.

This section intends to explore the background of the ‘weak’ about whom Paul was concerned. Considering the fact that they were liable to resume their former association with the cult, it appears that their bond with the cult in the past affected them even after they became Christ-followers. As discussed above, the cultic situation in Corinth was that the local cults were ruled by the Romans; the Roman policy on traditional cults was to incorporate them into a part of Roman civic religion. Thus, people were, either through the revived local cults or through the imperial cult, connected to the cult of the emperor. At the same time, the numbers of freedpersons in society cannot be ignored. Considering that the studies have shown that they formed more than sixty per cent of professional and religious *collegia* in Rome and Italy,⁹⁶⁶ and that Roman societies were sustained by the labour of freedpersons,⁹⁶⁷ the situation possibly did not differ considerably in the Roman colony, in whose past re-establishment freedpersons were deeply involved. It seems important, therefore, to explore the influence of freedpersons upon the Corinthians. A particular focus on the nature of freedpersons, as explored in the previous chapters, may shed new light on the question of the ‘weak’. This section aims to articulate the bond of freedpersons with the imperial cult in the following two subsections. It will look first at the nature of *patronatus*, the Roman form of patronage, which was the relationship with the Romans which slaves entered into after manumission. This will be followed by a survey of how freedpersons appeared in the eyes of the Greeks who did not experience manumission. The difference between the ‘manumitted people’ and the Greeks will be explained. The key area of the discussion will be their perception of the deification of the emperor, which, it is hoped, will illuminate the question of the ‘weak’. The questions will be discussed below in the light of what has been

Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 2 vols. (repr. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1977), p. 426; Fee, *First Epistle*, p. 386, n.57.)

⁹⁶⁶ See the discussion in 1.1.2, especially under the subheading of ‘The population of freedpersons in the first century BCE’.

⁹⁶⁷ See the discussion in 1.1.1.

discussed in the previous chapters.

6.2.1 The nature of ‘manumitted people’

One of the fundamental aspects of the nature of freedpersons (*libertini*) is that when slaves were emancipated they became clients of the Roman patrons. The bond with the patron deserves special mention, since Roman patronage (*patronatus*) was a distinctive relationship introduced by the Romans. The ancient form of patronage can generally be explained as a form of reciprocal relationship which was an essential part of the social relations of the people in ancient society. Mutual loyalty and networks of favours sustained the lives of the people, and the bond between people who were socially unequal can be understood as patronage.⁹⁶⁸ On the other hand, *patronatus* was a formalized system.⁹⁶⁹ The Roman patron-client relationship was not a voluntary relationship between the two parties, but was a means of Roman rule over the people. As Johnson and Dandeker stress, one must always consider the ‘distance from the centre of power’, and *patronatus* was a structure that exercised power on a personal level.⁹⁷⁰ The way in which Romans promoted this system is also important. The work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is worth mentioning in this light; in *Roman Antiquity*, Dionysius refers to Romulus, who created this system, and comments that it greatly benefited both patrons and clients. The glorification of Roman patronage is said to have been intended to promote the reign of Augustus as the embodiment of Romulus.⁹⁷¹ It is considered that this literary source was intended to show how *patronatus* was to bring Roman peace to the empire.⁹⁷² Further, it is also noteworthy that Dionysius states that this Roman patronage was extended to the subject people in the colonies.⁹⁷³

⁹⁶⁸ See the discussion in 1.2.2, especially under the subheading of ‘*Patronatus* and patronage’. It is also said that there was no special terminology to express this relationship in Greece. Cf. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World*, pp. 40-41.

⁹⁶⁹ MacGillivray, ‘Re-Evaluating Patronage’, p. 43.

⁹⁷⁰ Johnson and Dandeker, ‘Patronage: relation and system’, pp. 224-226.

⁹⁷¹ D.H., ii.10.4.

⁹⁷² E.g. Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor*, p. 62, n. 149.

⁹⁷³ D.H., ii.11.1.

The bond between clients and patrons requires further explanation in relation to the context of Roman rule over the colonies. As Rome expanded its territory, the treatment of increasing numbers of slaves, i.e. war captives, was a social issue, and manumission was an important device to resolve the problem. As slaves were emancipated, they became clients of their former owner, as mentioned above. Not only was there a social expectation that freedpersons were obliged to work for them (i.e. *obsequium*): freedpersons spontaneously served their former owner. This was because, in the root of their bond, there was an element of favour-debt; through manumission, they gained kinship with their clients, of which they had been deprived when they were slaves, and were acknowledged as human beings by society at large. The strong tie between them is shown in evidence; for one example, the plaques in the necropolis at Isola Sacra demonstrate that they were established by freedpersons to commemorate their patrons.⁹⁷⁴ The important point of *patronatus* is that it was the central power that permitted the manumission of slaves, and Rome conferred Roman citizenship on those slaves who had gone through the process of formal manumission. After the conditions for manumission were tightened by *Lex Fufia Caninia* (2 BCE) and *Lex Aelia Sentia* (4CE) so that only those who would willingly adhere and honour the Roman *mores* were emancipated, the race to gain manumission became more competitive among the slaves in the first century CE. Thus, the situation was that slaves were, in effect, awarded the *freedom to serve* their patron, and ultimately the Roman emperor. This kind of response was typically seen in the rise of the group called the *Augustales*, which was composed of mainly freedpersons who voluntarily devoted themselves to the imperial cult, creating a strong imperial civic atmosphere in the lives of the people in Roman society.⁹⁷⁵ The imperial cult in the colonies served as a symbol that maintained their *spontaneous* allegiance to Rome.

It is also important to note that, in Corinth, the resurrected Greek cults were strongly connected to the imperial cult; it was a Roman policy to utilize the Greek mythical tradition in order to bring the people into the imperial cult.⁹⁷⁶ In this sense, the imperial cult and the revived local cults

⁹⁷⁴ See 1.2.1 for details.

⁹⁷⁵ See 3.1 for the details of the *Augustales*.

⁹⁷⁶ See 2.3.2 for details.

in Corinth were not two independent categories of cults, as discussed above. The traditional cults were re-established in the Roman style and were controlled by the Romans. Further, it is most likely that Roman manumission in the Greek provinces gained a religious aspect in the course of Roman control over the local cults. That is, the practice of *manumissio vindicta* carried a cultic emphasis rather than being a simple judicial process, since the tradition of sacral manumission had been widely practised in Greek temples.⁹⁷⁷ Thus, it can be said that the Romans effectively replaced this tradition with their own system of emancipating slaves as they ruled the local cults. In this sense, the ultimate patron of the freed slaves was the emperor, whose authority permitted the manumission. The bond of *patronatus* was thus based on the favour conferred on them, and the slaves who were emancipated were those who would spontaneously repay this great favour-debt of being given ‘social birth’. This experience had a significant impact on freedpersons in that many came to possess a sense of belonging to and religious contentment in the imperial cult, even if they did not become members of the Augustales, the promoters of the imperial cult, which in fact many did in Roman Corinth. These freedpersons who were patronized by the Romans through gaining the favour of manumission might not have had a problem with accepting the idea of the deification of the emperor.⁹⁷⁸ In other words, any cultic act for them was a practice that needed to be taken seriously (including the handling of the food that had been offered to the idols). The emotional impact of the sacrificial act⁹⁷⁹ may not have had much impact on some people with liberal thoughts, but was certainly significant upon freedpersons. In this manner, Rome succeeded in creating strong loyalty among the freedpersons through controlling manumission.

In addition, Jewish slaves also entered into *patronatus* and served their patron, ultimately the emperor. It may not be a coincidence that there was not only a synagogue called ‘the synagogue of the Freedmen (Λιβερτίνων)’ (Acts 6.9), but also a synagogue of the ‘Augustenses’ (i.e. of the

⁹⁷⁷ See 5.2.3 for the discussion on the modes of manumission practised in Corinth.

⁹⁷⁸ See also the discussion below in 6.2.2.

⁹⁷⁹ See the discussion above in 6.1.2. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, p. 80.

freedpersons of Augustus)⁹⁸⁰ in Rome. Philo describes how Jews were taken as war captives, were emancipated, and resided on the other side of the river Tiber as Roman citizens.⁹⁸¹ They were those who passed the legal conditions to obtain manumission and honoured the emperor. Further, Philo also mentions the synagogues (or ‘meeting-houses’:⁹⁸² προσευχάς) in Alexandria which were adorned with shields, crowns, plaques, and inscriptions in honour of the emperor.⁹⁸³ These pieces of evidence from the first century CE show that Jewish freedpersons were not exceptions to *patronatus*.

As the above overview shows, those who had been slaves of the Romans and who had striven to pass the legal conditions to gain Roman citizenship willingly devoted themselves to honouring Rome. As for the Romans, it is most likely that they emancipated only those slaves who would without doubt return this great favour-debt. This situation of the freedpersons was, on the other hand, different to that of the Greeks in the east who did not experience Roman slavery or manumission.

6.2.2 ‘Manumitted people’ and surrounding Greeks

Before considering the overlap between the nature of the ‘weak’ and that of the freedpersons, it is also important to articulate how freedpersons stood out from other Greeks in Greek provinces, i.e. those who did not experience Roman slavery and manumission. Since there were influxes of Greeks from neighbouring cities into Roman Corinth, especially during the mid first century,⁹⁸⁴ a description of the contrast between freedpersons and other Greeks would help illuminate the distinctive nature of freedpersons in their social context.

One of the most noticeable differences between them is the aspect of *patronatus*, as discussed

⁹⁸⁰ *CIJ*, 284, 301, 338, 368, 416, 496. Cf. Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries*, (trans. Michael Steinhauser; ed. Marshall D. Johnson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), p. 83.

⁹⁸¹ Philo, *Legat.*, 155.

⁹⁸² Tr. F. H. Colson, LCL.

⁹⁸³ Philo, *Legat.*, 133. Cf. M.T. Finney, ‘Christ Crucified and the Inversion of Roman Imperial Ideology in 1 Corinthians’, *Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 35 (2005), pp. 20-33 (25). Jon E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Ancient World* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), p. 162. Philip Harland, ‘Connections with Elites in the World of the Early Christians’, in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches* (eds. Anthony J. Blasi, Jean Duhaime and Paul-Andre Turcotte; Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2002), pp. 403-4.

⁹⁸⁴ See 2.1.2 under the subheading of ‘Integration period’ for details.

above. In general, Greek authors seem to have taken a negative view towards *patronatus*.⁹⁸⁵ Their perception of freedpersons can be found in the Greek literature. For example, Polybius in the second century BCE writes that the king of Bithynia found it odd to see freedpersons in Rome wearing distinctive costume.⁹⁸⁶ The ironic attitude of the king towards the Romans represents his, and possibly Polybius', critical view of Roman patronage. This kind of satire is more explicitly expressed in the works of second-century CE novelist Lucian who narrates that it is 'ridiculous' to see huge crowds of people, most likely clients or those seeking to be clients, in front of the houses of the elites in Rome.⁹⁸⁷ In addition, the social stigma Roman clients carried is expressed in the words of the Romans themselves, as in the work of Cicero, who states that to be called a client of someone is 'bitter as death'.⁹⁸⁸ It is most likely that the reason why the Greek authors found it 'ridiculous' is because there was no such social system in Greek cities, at least of this formal kind. It may also be that Greeks were critical of *patronatus* because many of the clients of the Romans were their compatriots; they were freedpersons who had been the war captives of Rome, or their descendants, as mentioned above.⁹⁸⁹ According to scholars who have studied patronage in Greek cities, it has generally been accepted that patronage did in fact exist in Greek societies since it was an essential part of the social relations of people in antiquity.⁹⁹⁰ However, it has also been argued that patronage in Greek society was different from Roman patronage; that is, it consisted of corporate relationships (i.e. 'euergetism'⁹⁹¹) whose emphasis is more on the bond between a patron and collectives,⁹⁹² and the patron was a benefactor of a community. It is also said that there was an expression among the

⁹⁸⁵ See the previous discussions in 1.2.2 under the subheading '*Patronatus* in Greek cities'.

⁹⁸⁶ Plb., XXX, 18.

⁹⁸⁷ Luc., *Nigr.*, 22. See 1.2.2, under the subheading '*Patronatus* in Greek cities'.

⁹⁸⁸ Cic., *Off.*, 2.69.

⁹⁸⁹ On the other hand, those Greeks who were assimilated into Roman culture may have felt superior to those who were clients of the Roman patrons, since they shared the view of the Roman elites.

⁹⁹⁰ E.g. Moses Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 40-41.

⁹⁹¹ See 1.2.2 under the subheading of '*Patronatus* in Greek cities' for details.

⁹⁹² MacGillivray, 'Re-Evaluating Patronage', pp. 47-51. Joubert, 'One Form of Social Exchange', pp. 21-24.

Greeks that referred to the oppressive Roman patrons who imposed their form of patronage upon the people in the Greek east.⁹⁹³ Thus, the Greek perception of *patronatus* was fundamentally a form of their reaction towards imperial rule. In other words, behind their views on *patronatus* lies their acceptance of or resistance against the Roman reign over the Greek lands. The focus will turn to the discussion on their hostility or loyalty to Rome, which requires consideration from a wider historical point of view.

It is generally accepted that there was no great resistance that led to war between them.⁹⁹⁴ Archaeological evidence of garrisons suggests that Rome did not station a large number of soldiers in Greek land; they were mainly situated at the northern borders, and many were recruited locally.⁹⁹⁵ It may be that Greeks were used to being ruled by foreign monarchs and may have chosen subservience instead of open opposition to the ruling power. There had also been a significant decline in Greek military power and the Greek economy, which may be one of the reasons. From the cultural point of view, the Romans esteemed Greek culture, such as that of Athens and Sparta, and hence, it appears that Greek elites generally accepted Roman rule that favoured Greek culture.⁹⁹⁶ Although these points may suggest that there was little disharmony between them, the resistance of the Greeks also must not be disregarded. Tacitus records that there was a large protest against the high taxation in Achaea and Macedonia which led Rome to restructure the provincial regions in 15 CE.⁹⁹⁷ There was another curious protest in Athens recorded by Cassius Dio; according to his account, Augustus imposed a political sanction on Athens in 21 BCE because there was an incident that involved the statue of Athena on the Acropolis which insulted the emperor, as mentioned in 3.2.1.⁹⁹⁸ It is said that Greeks showed more resistance in the early stage of Roman rule, and this was possibly one of the instances,

⁹⁹³ It is said that Greeks specifically called Roman patrons ‘the common benefactors’. Joubert, ‘One Form of Social Exchange’, p. 21.

⁹⁹⁴ E.g. Goodman, *Roman World*, pp. 255-7.

⁹⁹⁵ Jones, *Greek City*, p. 63, n. 83.

⁹⁹⁶ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 91. See 3.2.1 for details.

⁹⁹⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, 1.79.

⁹⁹⁸ D.C., 54.7.2-3.

but its significance is that their anti-Roman sentiment was expressed through the patron deity of the city. The incident possibly had a great impact on the masses that prompted further hostility to Rome, whether or not they took it seriously from a religious point of view. It may also be argued that the way they treated their deity represents the liberal thoughts of the elites,⁹⁹⁹ who possibly utilized their religious symbol in order to create a certain Greek cultural pride among the people and to express hostility towards Rome.¹⁰⁰⁰ Similar sentiments among the Greeks can also be seen in the works of those of the second-century Greek elite such as Pausanias. His description regarding the sanctuary of Asclepius and the cult of Demeter and Kore in Corinth has been analysed by scholars, who suggest that his constant silence about the details of the sanctuaries shows his resentment toward the changes that were brought about by the Romans, especially to the places in which the Greeks took great pride.¹⁰⁰¹ His response in his writings is considered typical for a member of the elite of the time, whose indignation was concerned with the Roman appropriation of Greek lands, myths and history.¹⁰⁰² Although the second century CE was the time when Greeks could express their cultural identity relatively freely, it can be considered that these anti-Roman sentiments possibly continued among the Greeks throughout the period of Roman rule, whether or not they were expressed in any formal way.

However, on a different level, there is evidence that Greeks spontaneously accepted the imperial cult. In the language of ambassadors of the provincial cities, there are divine terms to honour the emperor. For example, they called the emperor 'a great god' in giving thanks for the favours they received; these honorific inscriptions are found in cities of Asia Minor and also from a Greek city, Delphi.¹⁰⁰³ They were mostly dedicated by the ambassadors who were priests of the imperial cult and who represented the elites of the city. This attitude coheres with the phenomenon that was seen in the

⁹⁹⁹ See 3.2.1 for details.

¹⁰⁰⁰ This kind of Greek cultural pride possibly continued and was later demonstrated in the Greek intellectual culture in the second and third centuries CE. Goodman, *Roman World*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁰¹ Paus., 2.4.5-6. E.g. Hutton, 'Religious Space in Pausanias', pp. 296-7. See 4.2.2 for the discussion about the descriptions of the sanctuaries of Asclepius in neighbouring towns by Pausanias.

¹⁰⁰² Cf. Økland, 'Ceres', p. 224. See 4.2.2 for details.

¹⁰⁰³ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 243. See the discussion in 3.2.2.

local civic coinage from east to west of the empire: the visual image of Augustus was used to honour the emperor despite that they were not obliged to do so.¹⁰⁰⁴ In regard to the Greeks, it may be that it was for the purpose of diplomacy and administration that they worshipped the emperor.¹⁰⁰⁵ Although this ‘rational view’ seems to be widely accepted, one may also ask whether there was any religious feeling in the way the Greeks worshipped the emperor. This finally leads the discussion to the question of the Greek perception of the deification of the emperor, the idea of the identification of a living ruler with a god.

As explored in Chapter 3, the identification of a ruler with a god was not a new practice that the Romans were the first to employ. It is said that the ruler-cult had been significantly developed by the Diadochi, the successors of Alexander, especially in the course of conquering and ruling foreign lands, as they encountered the traditions of the Pharaohs of Egypt and the Persian kings.¹⁰⁰⁶ Thus, it was not a new manner of ruling that the Greeks first experienced. According to Koester, there had also been a thought among the Greek philosophers from the fourth century BCE that only a divinely gifted ruler can establish peace, order and prosperity.¹⁰⁰⁷ In other words, the divinity of a ruler, to the Greeks, largely depended on their excellence as a ruler. It is conceivable that there was this underlying thought among the Greeks, that the divinity of the ruler was conditional. For example, Pausanias in the second century sees an *abandoned* temple of the imperial cult in Elis,¹⁰⁰⁸ which may suggest that their attitude of worshipping the emperor largely depended on the circumstances. On the other hand, freedpersons were different in this sense, particularly in terms of the bond of *patronatus* that was forged by the act of manumission. As mentioned above, manumission in Greek provinces, especially in the imperial context of Corinth, was in effect a Roman religious initiation to emancipate slaves and to take the new freed slaves into Roman citizenship. Through this practice, they were

¹⁰⁰⁴ E.g. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Image and Authority’, p. 72.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 115. See the discussion in 3.2.2; e.g., Price generally disagrees with the ‘rational view’.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See the discussion in 3.2.2, especially under the entry of ‘The ruler-cult’.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Koester, *Introduction*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Paus., 6.24.10.

awarded ‘social birth’ in Roman society; and at the same time, they owed a chronic favour-debt to the one who had the authority to perform the act of manumission. Thus, the ‘manumitted people’ were infused with loyalty to the emperor, which was unlike that of the Greeks who honoured the emperor for diplomatic reasons, or who showed ad hoc allegiance to the imperial cult. The distinct nature of the loyalty of freedpersons to the emperor was that it was based on the whole experience of gaining manumission. Although it is difficult to assess their cognitive area, the fact that many of them promoted the imperial cult as members of the *Augustales* suggests that freedpersons were eager to associate themselves with the cult, not only to gain social status, but also for religious gratification. Further, as Liebeschuetz points out, one cannot underestimate the emotional impact associated with the act of killing during the sacrificial ritual, which also created a sense of solidarity among the participants.¹⁰⁰⁹ Freedpersons were possibly those who were most affected by the occasions for these Roman cultic rituals. On the other hand, in the eyes of Greeks who did not experience slavery and manumission, this characteristic of freedpersons possibly appeared as a weakness; and it may be important to add that the numbers of these ‘manumitted people’ in society were not negligible.

Finally, the above discussions in this chapter can be summarized from the viewpoint of the ‘weak’, in Paul’s word. In the passage in question, Paul discusses the actual consequence of the issue of ‘idol food’. He warns that the weak believers would be destroyed (8:11). The verb ἀπόλλυμι is to be understood as an ‘eternal loss’, and not as psychological damage, since Paul uses the word in his letters without exception to mean eternal ruin and not internal damage.¹⁰¹⁰ Given that his strong exhortation regarding idol worship in 10:1-22 is to be read together with the issue of food offered to idols, the ‘eternal loss’ interpretation appears to be more coherent in the context of the passages. This does not mean, however, that there was no psychological damage, which would probably have occurred at the same time. This consequence came from their old custom (8:7),¹⁰¹¹ i.e. participation in the imperial cult or other pagan cults (which was a part of Roman civic religion in Corinth). The

¹⁰⁰⁹ Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, p. 80.

¹⁰¹⁰ Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, p. 149, n. 38; cf. Rom. 14:15.

¹⁰¹¹ The argument still holds if the textual variant, συνειδήσει instead of συνηθεία, is taken into account (i.e. not ‘accustomed to idols’ but ‘suffered pain’ or ‘had consciousness’), and the ‘weak’ are identified as Jewish Christ-followers. (See the discussion below, and in 6.2.1.)

‘conscience’ (συνείδησις), which caused a sense of pain inside them,¹⁰¹² is related to their experience of denying their old custom of worshipping idols and becoming Christ-followers; since they had been strongly bound to the cult, they would probably have been determined in everyday life to avoid anything that would evoke the cultic experience in which they had been involved. Thus, it can be said that their συνείδησις is conversely rooted in their profound devotion to the cult in the past, and expressed in their conscious and continuous decision to turn away from it. The reason behind Paul’s great concern over the ‘weak’ is that they were liable not only to remember the cult they had worshipped (which caused psychological damage) but also to be lured back into the cult (‘eternal loss’). With regard to this situation which the Corinthians faced, the nature of the ‘weak’ overlaps with that of freedpersons; their psychological liability to engage in the imperial cult is not difficult to imagine in the light of their obsession with the debt of manumission.

Further, it is also important to note that the Jewish freedpersons were also associated with the imperial cults since Jewish slaves also entered into *patronatus* after they were manumitted. The evidence shows that there was a synagogue of the freedpersons of Augustus in Rome,¹⁰¹³ and that Jews in Alexandria also actively honoured the emperor in their synagogues.¹⁰¹⁴ Thus, there is no reason to consider that Jewish freedpersons in Corinth were exceptions to the strong involvement in the worship of the imperial cult. Paul’s intention, therefore, was to admonish the so-called ‘strong’ among the Corinthians to understand the whole experience of ‘manumitted people’ becoming Christ-followers. It is thus arguable that the nature of freedpersons was the primary, if not exclusive, background of the ‘weak’.

In addition, it may be worthwhile to note that this view adds another explanation to the discussions of the ‘weak’. Theissen, for example, ascribed their ‘superstitious notions’ to the limited

¹⁰¹² For the meaning of συνείδησις see e.g. Murphy-O’Connor, ‘Freedom or the Ghetto’, pp. 549-550; Horsley maintains that the word refers to one’s awareness or consciousness. R.A. Horsley, ‘Consciousness and Freedom’, p. 581.

¹⁰¹³ *CIJ*, 284, 301, 338, 368, 416, 496. Cf. Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus*, p. 83. See the discussion in 6.2.1.

¹⁰¹⁴ Philo, *Legat.*, 133. See the discussion in 6.2.1.

experience of those of lower social standing.¹⁰¹⁵ His discussion on the social stratification of the Corinthians is based on the assumption that the meaning of εἰδωλόθυτα is *meat* offered to idols,¹⁰¹⁶ a view which later scholars have questioned.¹⁰¹⁷ The argument of this study, as shown above, does not necessarily depend on the *type* of offerings to idols. More importantly, it maintains that the over-scrupulous nature of the ‘weak’ does not directly relate to their socio-economic standing, but is fundamentally based on their experience of slavery and manumission.¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁵ Theissen, *Social Setting*, p. 137. The view presupposes the understanding of εἰδωλόθυτα as ‘meat’, and maintains that the ‘strong’ had a liberal view because the people of higher social strata are more likely to familiarize themselves with the superior thoughts of a broader view, while the opportunity to form a wider perspective was limited for the ‘weak’ by their lower socioeconomic standing (Theissen, *Social Setting*, pp. 132-7). See also the discussion on the meaning of εἰδωλόθυτα in 6.1.1.

¹⁰¹⁶ Gerd Theissen, ‘Social Conflicts in the Corinthian Community: Further Remarks on J.J. Meggitt, Paul, Poverty and Survival’ *JSNT* 25 (2003), pp. 371–391 (381-9).

¹⁰¹⁷ See 6.1.1 for details (esp. footnote).

¹⁰¹⁸ Some freedpersons may in fact have been socially successful (see 1.1.1 and 3.1.2 for a general view). It may thus be legitimate to state that the *socio-historical* account of manumission has shown the possibility that the *socio-economic* aspect of the people is not the only element in identifying the background of the ‘weak’.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study discussed the crux of μάλλον χρῆσαι in 1 Cor. 7:21 in the light of the social context of Roman Corinth. The nature of manumission and its influence were explored in the context of Roman rule over the Greek province and it was shown that manumission was considered to be an important means of imperial rule which gained cultic character in the province. This study also explored the issue that shares the same cultic context, namely, the issue of food offered to idols (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1). Paul's comments on the two issues appear to be based on a common problem; behind his arguments, there seems to be a marked influence of the imperial cult upon the Corinthians. This chapter summarizes the above discussions, and aims to interpret the passage of 7:21-24 to conclude the question of μάλλον χρῆσαι in its context.

To gain Roman manumission was to enter into a relationship of *patronatus* with Rome. For those who had been treated as property of the Romans as a slave, and deprived of all their possessions, kinships, social relations, and statuses, to become a freed *person* was to be given 'social birth' in Roman society. Slaves were awarded Roman citizenship, the goal which the Romans set before them, but laws were introduced to regulate manumission during the time of Augustus. The background of the legislation was the severe social unrest caused mainly by ex-slaves, to the extent that Octavian was nearly killed on one occasion by the turmoil that broke out in Rome in 39 BCE.¹⁰¹⁹ In order to restore order, a law was passed in 2 BCE (*Lex Fufia Caninia*) to regulate the number of slaves a master could emancipate, while legislation in 4 CE (*Lex Aelia Sentia*) targeted 'defeated and surrendered foreigners' and introduced further conditions for the emancipation of slaves.¹⁰²⁰ Thus, only those who were harmless and loyal to Rome were manumitted. The establishment of these laws

¹⁰¹⁹ Brunt, 'Roman Mob', pp. 9-10. For the social unrest during this period, see 1.1.2, under the subheading of 'Freedpersons and social order in Rome in the first century BCE'.

¹⁰²⁰ See 1.1.3 for details on Roman legislation on emancipation.

was a natural consequence of the expansion of Roman territory during the Republic and the early Empire which had brought vast numbers of war captives into Rome. Through the increase in competition for manumission, slaves learned to become loyal Roman citizens with Roman mores. It can be said that Augustus and later emperors succeeded in controlling ex-slaves by utilizing *patronatus* effectively through regulating manumission.

In the colonies in the East, Roman manumission was an important means of their rule. At the same time, there was an issue of Greek sacral manumission. In Greek cults, there was a long tradition of sacral manumission, and, for Rome, this was an element of the local cults that needed to be controlled. In Buthrotum, the cultic centre of Asclepius was a symbol of the city. It is considered that the Romans left the outward function as a symbol, while replacing its authority with that of Rome. The evidence shows that the practice of sacral manumission was stopped during the first century CE, which suggests the Roman intention to remove social power from the cult and its priests. This may illuminate the situation in Corinth, where the traditional Greek cults were carefully selected and restored by the Romans. Their mythical past was connected to the imperial cult as they were resumed as a part of the Roman civic cult. This Roman religious policy suggests the importance of dealing with the people of Greek cultural background in Corinth. In the light of the ways in which Romans tactically utilized the local cults in order to rule the people from a religious perspective, it is most likely that, as in Buthrotum, the Romans banned (or did not resume) the practice of sacral manumission of the traditional cults, since manumission meant that the manumittor held central power. At the same time, *manumissio vindicta*, which is considered to be the most common form of Roman formal manumission in the provinces, gained cultic emphasis. Although *manumissio vindicta* was itself a judicial process, the procedure which was practised under the authority of the emperor (*imperium*) was akin to that of sacral manumission in Greek tradition, especially in the eyes of those from the Greek cultic tradition. Thus, manumission in Corinth was, effectively, a ritual of the imperial cult. It created a strong bond between the ‘manumitted people’ and the emperor, which was rooted in their experience of owing a great favour-debt to the ‘giver of life’. In addition, it is conceivable that the practice was performed in the Forum where the Roman administrative office was located.

By the middle of the first century CE, the Forum in Corinth had become a landmark of the

city. It was a symbol of the imperial cultic centre, where there were various buildings devoted to the imperial cult. Many honorific statues were also erected by the people; their quantity and quality show the wealth of the dedicators as well as their loyalty to the imperial family.¹⁰²¹ One of the prominent statues erected in the public area of the Forum was that established by the Augustales, as indicated on the base of the statue. Although the actual statue is missing, it is considered that it was a statue of Augustus, which stood in alignment with the two significant imperial buildings in the east and the west of the Forum (the Julian Basilica and the Temple E, respectively). The fact that the members of the Augustales were active in Corinth shows their voluntary devotion to the cult of the emperor. Since the members of the Augustales were primarily freedmen, they signify the allegiance of the ‘manumitted people’ to Rome. Indeed, not all the freedmen became members of the Augustales, but what the evidence suggests is that it was not a rigid Roman policy that freedpersons should worship the emperor. Their spontaneous response was rooted in the *patronatus* through which the Romans succeeded in controlling the minds of the ‘defeated and surrendered foreigners’.

There was another group of people who left their record in mid first-century Corinth. They were members of the Greek elites from surrounding cities who sought association with Rome. The inscriptional evidence shows that they were appointed as *agonothetes*, the administrator of the Isthmian games, during the forties of the first century CE. Although they were certainly not the first Greeks from surrounding cities to reside in the city, the fact that members of the Greek elites had started to be involved in the political positions of Roman Corinth is a significant point in its history during the Roman era. It is reasonable to consider that, by this time, Greeks in Achaëa accepted Roman rule because of the benefits the Romans brought to the people; the tension between the Roman colony and the surrounding Greek cities had thawed since the sack of Corinth in 146 BCE and the start of the Roman rebuilding of the city in 44 BCE. At the same time, Roman Corinth became a ‘clearing house’ for promoting imperial rule in Achaëa,¹⁰²² the function which Rome intended as they refounded the city.

¹⁰²¹ Hoskins Walbank, ‘Evidence for the imperial cult’, p. 210.

¹⁰²² Alcock, *Graecia capta*, p. 169.

This situation consequently brought changes to the political scene in Roman Corinth. When members of the Greek elites started to be appointed to the significant positions in Corinth, the *cursus honorum* in the city became more competitive. This situation is consistent with the rise of the Augustales in Corinth in the mid first century CE; for prominent freedmen, under these circumstances, to become members of the Augustales was a natural progression to maintain their social honour, since the social status of the Augustales was akin to that of the *ordo* in terms of the members' social acceptance¹⁰²³ (although the members of Augustales were voluntary sponsors of Rome). Whether or not the Roman authority had any political intentions behind the appointment of the Greeks from other cities as *agonothetes*, it appears that freedmen were constantly inspired to compete in the imperial race.

In the light of this social background, it is quite conceivable that Paul had views on the situation where people were highly conscious of being affiliated to Rome. The significant character of the social context was the spontaneous response of people who eagerly associated themselves with the central power, rather than obedience being rigidly imposed by the authority. Although many Greeks may have had reservations about being involved in the imperial cult because of their cultural pride, freedpersons were generally dedicated worshippers and promoters of the cult. There may have been individual differences, but their experience of transition from slave to freedperson had a significant impact on their mindset. 'Manumitted people' were those who were given *freedom to serve* Rome; they participated in the imperial race, and they themselves created the imperial social atmosphere. Considering this imperial atmosphere of the mid first century CE, it is not difficult to imagine that there was stronger social pressure on the non-loyalists which consequently created clearer divisions within society as well as in communities. The Christ-followers in Corinth must also have experienced this kind of pressure.

In this social context, what Paul appears to have stressed is the importance of forgoing one's right. In the exploration of the interpretation of the issue of 'idol food' (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1), it has been argued that Paul's intention was to persuade the Christ-followers in Corinth to abstain voluntarily

¹⁰²³ Ostrow, 'Augustales in the Augustan Scheme', p. 368.

from consuming food offered to idols, and to prohibit participation in all temple meals.¹⁰²⁴ This is to understand that the believers have the right to eat food offered to idols, but that they are to relinquish their right. This is contrary to the traditional view that maintains the conditional permission of consuming ‘idol food’,¹⁰²⁵ a view which requires an explanation of the discrepancy between Paul’s counsel on ‘idol food’ and on idol worship. On the other hand, the interpretation which this study maintains emphasizes the point, for example, that Paul writes his self-exemplary argument of renouncing his apostolic rights for the sake of the ‘gospel’.¹⁰²⁶ The reason behind this argument is that Paul is concerned about those who were at risk of falling back into the pagan cults (8:11). In the light of the cultic context of Roman Corinth, where the Romans restored the local cults as a part of the civic religion of Rome, the issue is most likely to be the Christ-followers’ association with the imperial cult.

This view is consistent with Paul’s argument in 7:21 regarding manumission of slaves. The two issues, namely ‘idol food’ and manumission, appear to present parallel arguments, since the common problem behind these issues is the influence of the imperial cult upon the Corinthians. A further comment will be made on the following verses 7:22-24 to conclude the interpretation of *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι* in its social and textual context.

After referring to the issue of manumission in 7:21, Paul continues the theme. In v.22a, he offers an explanation for the reason why a slave should not be concerned about their status (v.21a, b), or why a slave should remain in slavery (v. 21c, d; if one takes the ‘remain in slavery’ interpretation): that is because ‘the slave in the Lord is the Lord’s freedperson’.¹⁰²⁷ It is considered that, by employing the word freedperson (*ἀπελεύθερος*) rather than a free person (*ἐλεύθερος*), Paul stressed

¹⁰²⁴ This view is based on the interpretation proposed by Still. See the discussion in 6.1.

¹⁰²⁵ E.g. Fisk, ‘Eating Meat’, p. 68-70; Barrett, ‘Things Sacrificed’, p. 147.

¹⁰²⁶ E.g. 1 Cor. 9:12, 15, and 18; cf. 9:23.

¹⁰²⁷ W. Deming maintains that, in 7:21-2, Paul employs a ‘diatribe pattern’, which is a distinctive syntactical formula or pattern that can be found in Hellenistic authors, and argues that Paul’s use of the pattern functions ‘as a rebuff’ (he regards v. 21cd as an addition to the pattern). Deming, ‘Diatribe Pattern’, p. 135. For details, see 5.1.2, under the subheading ‘New Testament scholarship after 1970’.

the patron-client relationship into which freedpersons entered after being emancipated.¹⁰²⁸ In other words, this is to emphasize the new status gained by being associated with the ‘Lord’. In the light of the social context of Roman Corinth during the mid first century, this meaning is *counter* to the trend of a society where people eagerly sought association with Rome. Some scholars understand the text in the eschatological sense¹⁰²⁹ (e.g. as in Gal. 3:28: ‘There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus’), and in the sense of freedom from sin¹⁰³⁰ (e.g. as in Rom. 8:2: ‘[the law of the Spirit] has set you free from the law of sin and of death’); however, if Paul had intended to stress these meanings, it would be natural for him to use free person (ἐλεύθερος). The fact that v. 22a is the only verse in which Paul employed the word freedperson (ἀπελεύθερος) in his letters may also suggest that he had a strong intention behind the usage of the word. Thus, as Dale Martin suggests, the emphasis in v. 22a is social. Martin explains that belonging to the household of the ‘Lord’ is a higher status than that enjoyed by any freedpersons belonging to human patrons.¹⁰³¹ In addition, this is not to stress the aspect of *obsequium*, the duty that freedpersons owed to their patron,¹⁰³² since the meaning of freedom forms a contrast to slavery in v. 22b.

In v. 22b, Paul writes that ‘whoever was a free person when called is a slave of Christ’. The meaning of ‘slave of Christ’ can be twofold. One is that this transition is considered as upward mobility, since one’s social status was defined by the household to which one belonged, and he or she now belongs to the household of Christ (as in the argument of freedpersons belonging to the ‘Lord’).¹⁰³³ It is also important that ‘slave of Christ’ is generally a ‘salvific language’ of Paul,¹⁰³⁴ and

¹⁰²⁸ Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, p. 64. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 560.

¹⁰²⁹ E.g. Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, pp. 127-8.

¹⁰³⁰ E.g. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, p. 310.

¹⁰³¹ Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, pp. 64-5. Thiselton generally follows this point. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 560.

¹⁰³² Conzelmann refers to Kümmel for this view. Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, p. 128, n. 29.

¹⁰³³ Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, p. 67.

¹⁰³⁴ Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, pp. 67-68.

thus *all* Christ-followers are slaves of Christ, as Paul defines himself with this concept.¹⁰³⁵ On the other hand, the meaning suggests a lowering of status, since Paul specifies the transition from free person to slave. The fact that Paul singles out free persons is significant since a free person is lowered from the highest to the lowest status among the three categories in the household (free, freedperson, and slave). Considering these two movements (v.22a and b) within the household, the situation is not a levelling of positions, but a reversal of statuses. Scholars such as Kenneth Russell consider that this is a relativization of social status (e.g. as in Gal. 3:28); thus, the social categories of this world cannot divide the church.¹⁰³⁶ However, as Martin points out, Paul does not relativize the social statuses but redefines them. It is not difficult to imagine that those of high status among the Christ-followers did not appreciate the idea of being slaves of anyone, especially considering the situation in Corinth where people eagerly sought for association with the powerful ones in society to gain social honour; however, it is most likely that v. 22b was directed to this sort of people. Paul's intention was to stress humility to those who were following the trend of seeking upward mobility in imperial society. This argument appears to be consistent with the theme of forgoing one's right. Overall, belonging to Christ is stressed in v. 22a and b; whether one is a slave or free person, to be '*of the Lord*' and '*of Christ*' is counter to belonging to the earthly human lord.

The statement in v. 23a, 'You were bought with a price', also appears in 6:20. In the context of 1 Corinthians chapter 6, Paul warns not to be 'united to prostitute' (v. 16), since one's body is no longer one's own (v. 19), for the reason given in the statement above. Paul rejects enslavement in any form by stressing this theological reason. In 7:23b, he writes 'Do not become slaves of men'. The meaning of 'slaves of men' can be understood as both social and metaphorical.¹⁰³⁷ The social meaning is that some people may have chosen to sell themselves into slavery. Scholars such as Winter stress the point that self-enslavement was a common way to gain higher status in Roman imperial society, for example by entering into the *Familia Caesaris* as a slave. However, some scholars

¹⁰³⁵ Rom. 1:1, Gal. 1:10, Phil. 1:1.

¹⁰³⁶ Kenneth Russell, *Slavery as Reality and Metaphor in the Pauline Letters*, pp. 49-50 (Rome: Catholic Book Agency, 1968). Russell considers that the only way a slave could become a 'good Christian' is by being a 'good slave' (p. 46). Cf. Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 19. Cf. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, pp. 65-6.

¹⁰³⁷ Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 561-2.

question whether self-sale was a common practice during this period.¹⁰³⁸ Paul also uses the image of slavery in a metaphorical sense.¹⁰³⁹ Two passages from other letters of Paul can be given as examples: ‘Formerly, when you did not know God, you were enslaved to beings that by nature are not gods’ (Gal. 4:8); ‘that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay (ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς) and will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God’ (Rom. 8:21). In these passages, the concept of slavery is used in the sense that one is bound to something that is in opposition to ‘God’. Thus, the verse in question, ‘Do not become slaves of men’, can be understood in the same metaphorical sense that assumes cultic bondage. From the context in Corinth, as explained above, it is plausible to consider that Paul intended in this verse to warn against bondage to the imperial cult. The reason for stating ‘men’ (plural) in this verse might be that the imperial cult was a cult of the imperial family. There were also *flamen* of the imperial family who were priests of high rank in the cult. Thus, it is possible that Paul expressed belonging (not necessarily as an actual slave) to the cult of the imperial family as being ‘slaves of men’. Indeed, the cult of the imperial family was strengthened by Roman authority. Mary Hoskins Walbank explains that Tiberius emphasized the worship of the *Gens Iulia* and built a temple which came to be used for the worship of the *Domus Augusta*. Thus, the worship of the imperial family was stressed in the imperial policy during the reign of Tiberius.¹⁰⁴⁰ Finally, the following interpretation of v. 24 adds further weight to the view that Paul was opposed to the bondage of cultic power.

In v. 24, Paul counsels to remain in the condition in which one was called, which is a reiteration of v.20; and adds παρὰ θεῶν, of which the nuance is [to remain in the condition] *in the presence of God* (REB, NJB), *with God* (KJV, NRSV), or *on God’s side*.¹⁰⁴¹ Given that the social

¹⁰³⁸ Winter, *Seek the Welfare*, pp. 154,162; Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, p. 41; Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, pp. 46-8, 116. (One of the pieces of evidence of self-sale can be found in 1 Clement, 55.2.)

For scholars who question that this practice was common in Corinth, see e.g. Briggs, ‘Bondage and Freedom’, pp. 113-4; Harrill, *Manumission of Slaves*, pp. 30, 96. See the discussion in 5.1.1.

¹⁰³⁹ Bartchy, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, p. 182. Cf. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 562.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Hoskins Walbank, ‘Evidence for the Imperial Cult’, pp. 202-4.

¹⁰⁴¹ Robertson and Plummer, *First Epistle*, p. 150. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, p. 562. However, these commentators do not directly relate the reading of ‘on God’s side’ (v.24) to the issue of manumission. Theissen modifies this reading and renders ‘with God at their side’.

context of Corinth was one in which there was an atmosphere of strong pressure towards affiliation to the imperial cult, and Paul was concerned about the Christ-followers who were in danger of falling back into the cult they formerly worshipped, it is most likely that Paul's emphasis in this verse was to admonish the believers to be *with God* or *on the side of God*.¹⁰⁴² In addition, Paul's theological account '[those weak believers] for whom Christ died' in 8:11 is consistent with 'you were bought with a price' in 7:23a (and in 6:20a). In both verses, Paul stresses the redemption through Christ, and strongly urges the believers not to fall into idolatry. Therefore, in this setting, not to gain formal manumission was a practical safeguard for the slaves among the Corinthians, since the whole system of imperial rule that lured people into the cult could not be overlooked. Furthermore, it may be that those among the Corinthians who were at risk of falling back into the cult were 'manumitted people', whose former devotion to the imperial cult affected their mindset even after they became Christ-followers. Their return to the imperial cult may have been a critical issue of the nascent church, over which Paul was constantly concerned. Therefore, in this situation in Roman Corinth, it was crucial for Paul to counsel relinquishment of gaining formal manumission even if the slave met the legal conditions of acquiring manumission.¹⁰⁴³

At the other end of the spectrum, it is possible to consider the issue from the point of view of 'taking freedom'. As Lightfoot briefly stated that the *purpose* of 'taking freedom' must be discussed

¹⁰⁴² Recent scholars tend to deny the possibility of reading the Greek tradition of *paramonē* agreement, the duty of service which ex-slaves owed to their former owners, in Paul's wording of μενέτω παρὰ θεῷ. This understanding was first suggested by Deissman in 1908 in his argument connecting the evidence of Delphic inscriptions of sacral manumission with 1 Cor. 7:23a, 'You were bought with a price' (Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 319-23). Since recent scholars generally do not support this view because of the irrelevance of the Delphic context, the above point of *paramonē* agreement has also been denied. Paul's customary use of παρὰ also does not match with this reading (see e.g. the discussion in Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p. 129, and pp. 128-9, n. 35.) However, if Westermann is correct in stating that Paul referred to the idea of *paramonē* agreement, which would mean: 'in this status let him carry on [one's service] with God' (Westermann, 'Freedmen and the Slaves of God', p. 61), and which would stress one's *commitment* to God, it can then be argued that Paul is evoking the idea of Greek culture among the Corinthians in order to oppose the imperial cult. Westermann offers his own translation of the text: 'Let each man, brothers, remain [in *paramonē*] beside God in that status in which he was called' (p. 61.)

¹⁰⁴³ It was argued that the meaning of δύνασθαι in 7:21c ('[if] you are able [to become free]') is to be understood in a legal sense, i.e. 'if one is able to pass the conditions determined by the laws' (the *Lex Fufia Caninia* (2 BCE), the *Lex Aelia Sentia* (4 CE), and the *Lex Junia* (exact date unknown, but most likely to be during the reign of Tiberius)). For the conditions, see 1.1.3 and 5.2.2. Thus, the understanding of v. 21c does not depend on the question of whether slaves in the first century CE actually had a chance to choose their own manumission.

in terms of ‘God’s work’,¹⁰⁴⁴ Paul may have intended to advise the slaves to use the right obtained by gaining manumission. Considering that Acts states that Paul had Roman citizenship and used its advantages (Acts 16:37,38; 22:25-29), it is conceivable that Paul in 1 Cor. 7:21 counsels those he is addressing in Corinth to use whatever benefits them (even a Roman system) for the purpose of ministry. In this case, v. 21 is to be read as parenthetical, as 7:11, and to be differentiated from its context, which counsels remaining in one’s condition. One of the critiques of this view is that, as C.J. Roetzel and others point out, the ‘take freedom’ interpretation does not tie in with Paul’s eschatological understanding.¹⁰⁴⁵ That is, Paul teaches that ‘the present form of this world is passing away’ (1 Cor. 7:31) because of the expectation of an imminent *parousia*, and, for this reason, Christ-followers are to remain in the present condition (7:26). This understanding of Paul indeed suggests ‘remain in slavery’; however, the argument that sees the issue from the point of view of Paul’s intention of ministry, his aim of ‘winning’ the people as described in 9:19-23, does not contradict his eschatological point, regardless of the extent of the significance of his eschatological understanding. For Paul, the purpose and the priority of his work was ‘for the sake of the gospel’ (9:23); thus, it is possible to argue that Paul urged the Corinthians to make use of whatever opportunity was available, especially the opportunity to be emancipated from the constraint of slavery and to obtain Roman citizenship.

However, in the light of the social context and the situation of the Christ-followers in Corinth, it is considered that the issue to be prioritized, for Paul, was the situation of those who were at risk of falling into idol worship. Among the series of practical issues which Paul discussed in 1 Corinthians, those which were related to the imperial cult, i.e. manumission and ‘idol food’, required Paul to use his theological argument in order to persuade the Christ-followers not to become involved in the cult. His constant reminder of the language of redemption in Christ (7:23, 8:11, cf. 6:20), an example of idol worship from Exodus 32:6 (1 Cor. 10:1-12, esp. v.7), and his contraposition of the table of Christ

¹⁰⁴⁴ Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles*, pp. 229-30.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Roetzel, ‘Response: how anti-imperial’, p. 229; J.L. Houlden, *Ethics and the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), pp. 21, 26; R.E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1997), pp. 506, 509; B.D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 347; cf. Byron, *Recent Research*, p. 10.

and that of demons (10:14-22) were the grounds for his practical advice. The common theme in both issues appears to be that the Christ-followers in Corinth were to relinquish their rights. On the issue of manumission, Paul counsels them to make better use of their present condition, even if the slave was legally eligible to be manumitted. In Roman Corinth, this was, in effect, to be on the side of God.

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